The UNKNOWN BIBLE

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

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THE UNKNOWN BIBLE

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN, PH.D.

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THE UNKNOWN BIBLE

A Study of the Problem of Attitude Toward the Bible

BY

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN, PH.D.

Pettingill Professor of History of Christianity,
Rochester Theological Seminary

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

REV. CORNELIUS WOELFKIN
D.D., LL.D., LITT.D.

KANSAS SCHOOL OF RELIGION
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
1300 OREAD AVENUE
LAWRENCE, KANSAS 66044

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Bible - criticism, interpretation, etc.

THE UNKNOWN BIBLE
— B —
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TO

ADOLF VON HARNACK

SOME OF WHOSE CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE NEW TESTAMENT THIS STUDY SEEKS TO APPRECIATE

INTRODUCTION

Professor Moehlman has produced a much-needed book under a striking title. We can readily understand the neglected Bible, but a book of the centuries, translated into hundreds of languages and dialects, published by the millions and reissued every year in numbers far surpassing any other publication; a book daily in the hands of millions of devout readers to be named "The Unknown Bible" is sufficient to make an interested reader pause and say, Wherein is this familiar book unknown? There is a difference between familiarity and knowledge. Because we become accustomed to a thing we are likely to conclude that we know all about it. There are things in the Bible so self-evident that a wayfaring man cannot misunderstand. There are many other things wherein we are like the eunuch whom Philip met and who frankly confessed the need of some one to guide him.

But it is when we come to deal with the things outside the Bible which are nevertheless vitally related to it that we encounter horizons of darkness. The skein of history is very tangled. The mass of traditions becomes a library. The factors determining interpretation are unending. One who ventures upon these seas wonders if there are any reliable charts and compasses.

Professor Moehlman has brought to bear upon these questions a keen acumen growing out of a ripe scholarship. Within the compendium of a brief volume he has focused the results of many painstaking investigations. The facts here recited have lain scattered in the scholarly world for years. But the author brings together such a number as to place in the hands of the layman the epitome of many years of research work. The facts are so clearly and concisely stated that he leads the mind over wide areas of historic data in a brief time. And thus an appetite for perusal of the more extensive studies is created.

To those readers who know the Bible itself but nothing about the book, this volume will come as a surprise and shock. But they are the people who need just such information. To others, who have ventured even into the periphery of the historic method, "The Unknown Bible" will come as a most welcome guide.

While this thesis is not a devotional guide, it still follows that an intelligent understanding will increase reverence for the Bible. Nothing will please and compensate the author more than to know that his readers, beside feeling the intellectual stimulus which comes from a venture into new historical fields, will appreciate how potent and glorious is the truth of God though coming through frail and fallible instrumentalities.

CORNELIUS WOELFKIN.

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THE UNKNOWN BIBLE

CHAPTER I

THE NEGLECTED AND MISUNDERSTOOD BIBLE

I am a copy of a library of books called the Bible. It is proclaimed from pulpit and printed page that I am the best seller in the western world. Some five million entire Bibles and parts of Bibles are published each year. I have been translated into hundreds of languages and dialects. I appear in raised type that the blind may read me. I have influenced the development of medicine, law, art, literature, and the vocabulary of the peoples. My cultural significance cannot be overestimated. And yet, I am the unknown Bible.

I was purchased in a book-shop on Main Street. I am owned by one whose name was carefully inscribed upon my first page. Occasionally I am consulted when the family is interested in running down the minister's text. Most of my life has been passed up here on this shelf. Sometimes they take me down to press pansies between my pages. When the family circle is invaded by death, they turn for consolation to the ninetieth psalm or the fourteenth chapter of a gospel that bears the name of John.

My proprietors are constantly apologizing for me. They write articles in the daily paper and monthly magazine about me. But they woefully neglect me. I am one of the least appreciated books in their library. I wonder why!

I am an Oriental book. Ever so much historical information is necessary to bring on the mood that sympathizes with me. It is difficult for the folks of the western world to understand the imagery and naïveté of the East and of the long ago. Rarely a student weeps on reading that ancient argument for missions, the much abused tract called Jonah.

There are sections between my covers that have no special religious value. I mean the long genealogies, the weird ceremonial regulations, the references to polygamy, the narratives of petty domestic disturbances within the household of David, the stories of wars.

Parts of me have been rather poorly translated into English. I know how folks have wondered at the "writing-table" demanded by aged Zacharias to write the few letters of the name "John." Precisely how Jesus "began to be about thirty years of age" resembles a cross word puzzle. It requires more than a Baedeker to comprehend just how Paul and his companions "took up their carriages and went up to Jerusalem" or how the pilot of the ship on which Paul later journeyed to Rome "fetched a compass and came to Rhegium."

Documents of varied age and different style are occasionally interwoven into a solid narrative in the books that compose me. This has produced annoying repetitions which disturb the reader. Sometimes the same material is found in several books. A passage in Micah may be identical with a passage in Isaiah. Much of the gospel of Mark occurs also in the gospel of Luke and the gospel of Matthew.

One is supposed to use his mind in reading other books. But the tale has spread that my contents are perfectly plain. Any one can understand me! Therefore, when people peruse my pages, they take everything for granted. They do not perspire over me as over an inscription from the sands of Egypt. They do not cross-question me. Hence, they remain unfamiliar with me.

I could not begin to tell you in how many ways I have been abused. My verses have been employed as amulets. My gospels have been placed upon the heads of the sick to provoke a cure. Oaths are sworn upon me in the law-courts. Numerous Christians believed that the gospels were written by beasts because a lion was employed as a symbol for Mark, a man for Matthew, a calf for Luke, and an eagle for John. Even a "sex-interpretation" of the books of which I am composed has been proposed. Indeed, I have been read from cover to cover in a relay marathon in

exactly sixty-nine hours and fifteen minutes.[1] In one of the chapters of Genesis, you may read that man was created in the image of God. That phrase has been interpreted in a dozen different ways, including the assumption that the color of God is white. Some one turned to the forty-sixth psalm and ascertained that the forty-sixth word from the beginning of the psalm is "shake" and the forty-sixth word from the end of the psalm, "spear." Now since the Authorized Version was given to the world in 1611, which was about the forty-sixth year of the life of Shakespeare, its inspiration should be evident. Think of how Isaiah's reference to an "altar to the Eternal in the heart of the land of Egypt, and a pillar to the Eternal on the frontier" has resulted in a volume upon the religious significance of the great pyramid.[2]

I have been employed to demonstrate the righteousness of war, to justify witchcraft, to protect the enslavement of human beings, to vindicate the consumption of intoxicating liquor, to promote polygamy, to prevent any effort to decrease social injustice, to prove a peculiar and particular brand of theology, to furnish ammunition and heavy artillery for dogmatic warfare, to repudiate the unification of the divided forces of Christianity, to construct innumerable uncanny pro-

1 Associated Press, June 3, 1925.
2 Isaiah 19:19, 20. Quotations from the Bible are from various versions. The Moffatt Old Testament and New Testament are oftenest used because of their accuracy and suggestiveness.

grams of the future, to stir the fanaticism of the heresy hunter, to attack the organization of this or that denomination, to produce bitter and malignant controversy over the ceremonies of the Christian religion, to secure the survival of a notable variety of fads and fancies, and to give states anti-evolution laws.

Do you not recall how "The Christian Doctrine of Slavery" contended that "all the books of the New Testament were written in slave-holding states," that "the apostles received slave-holders into the Christian church and continued them therein," and that "Paul sent back a fugitive slave to his Christian master again"? And did not the Bible by all these tokens endorse chattel slavery in the United States? [3]

Am I not the unknown Bible?

Until a century ago, unfair methods were well nigh universally employed in dealing with my contents. Repeatedly my meaning has been obscured by legalism, allegorization, and dogmatism.

Fundamentalist Palestinian Judaism was using the literalistic method of interpreting its Bible before Christianity came upon the stage. This way of understanding the Bible usually overdoes. It proceeds as if it were interested in getting exact results. It makes the letter obligatory for faith and for practice. It denotes enslavement under the letter. It overworks and stretches serviceable rules of interpretation until they are

3 See Mode, "Source-Book for American Church History," p. 573.

warped out of all their original intention. It makes every mark of punctuation and every letter of the alphabet produce miracles. It exchanges an "a" with a "z," a "b" with a "y," a "c" with an "x" to obtain astounding consequences. It delights to toy with the numerical value of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet until modern adding machines are put to shame. If two passages from the Bible are evidently not in agreement, search for a remote passage which, if cleverly used, will enable you to harmonize all discrepancies—this is the *deus ex machina* of the literalistic method of interpreting the Bible.

Above the Hebrew word "and he kissed him" in the passage in Genesis narrating the reconciliation between Jacob and Esau there happen to occur some ancient marks of pronunciation. These, of course, must have a profound meaning! But just what? Why not, concluded some, that Esau never intended to kiss but to bite his brother. Alas, when he essayed the task, he found that Jacob's neck had turned to ivory and consequently dulled his teeth![4] To discover how long Israel dwelt in Egypt, legalism turns to the word "go down" occurring in the remarks of Jacob at a time of famine, adds the numerical value of its three Hebrew components and decides in favor of two hundred ten years as the duration of the period of Hebrew serfdom in

4 Genesis 33:4. This and three of the following illustrations in Weber, p. 120, 121. For the 613 oral commandments, see C. Taylor, "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," second edition, p. 108.

Egypt.[5] Literalism counts the letters in the decalogue and on observing their total to be six-hundred-thirteen has an explanation for the existence of six-hundred-thirteen oral commandments. Since the numerical value of the Hebrew letters composing the name Satan amounts to three hundred sixty-four, this sad earth is free from the control of the devil only one day during each year. There must be exactly nine hundred and three ways of dying, because the Hebrew word for "going-out" sums to this number. Because Jesus said, "Give to the man who begs from you," Carthaginian Christians at a time of Christian persecution argued for the propriety of offering bribes to the Roman officials.[6] One hundred fifty-three fishes were reported caught in an early morning catch upon the sea of Tiberias.[7] The ingenious Augustine noticed that the sum of all numbers between one and seventeen just equals this number. Since seventeen is composed of ten plus seven, the catch of fishes was concerned with the ten commandments and the Spirit, represented by the seven. One of the more damaging instances of legalism is Paul's argument based upon the quotation from the Old Testa-

5 Genesis 42 : 2.
6 Matthew 5 : 42.
7 John 21 : 11. See Dods, "Works of Augustine," XI, pp. 533-538. Weber's "Juedische Theologie," pp. 118 ff., collects many instances of literalism. H. Preserved Smith, "Essays in Biblical Interpretation," pp. 24 ff., contains numerous illustrations, e.g., Genesis 14 : 14, 318 men in army of Abraham=the one man Eliezer; Genesis 21 : 28=I Samuel 6 : 1; Genesis 23 : 1=Esther 1 : 1; the four letters in the name Isaac= 10, 90, 8, 100=respectively the ten commandments, Sarah's age at the birth of Isaac, the rite of circumcision, and Abraham's age at the birth of Isaac. Gilbert, "Interpretation of the Bible" needs no recommendation.

ment, "Now the promises were given to Abram and to *his seed;* it does not say, 'and *to your seeds'* in the plural, but 'and to *your seed'* in the *singular"*—therefore Christ is meant! But Paul is aware that both the Hebrew and the Greek use "seed" in the singular of offspring whether one or many and "seeds" in the plural only of vegetable seeds and not of human progeny. The author of the passage in Genesis was compelled to employ "seed" in the singular to refer to the vast progeny of Abraham.[8] Paul simply yielded to the temptation to demonstrate a point by legalism. How often we are reminded that Paul directed Timothy to "give up being a total abstainer; to take a little wine" for his stomach's sake.[9] But our modern literalist forgets that these words appear out of place in that context. Some have concluded that God is not responsible for the existing earth because the world he created was "deluged and destroyed."[10] Even John Wesley was of the opinion that to abandon belief in witches was to break faith with the Bible.[11] "The Bible means just what it says." True enough. But "just what it says" may not be so obvious to the casual reader after twenty-five hundred years. A good way to miss "what it says" is to be literalistic.

As Christianity was coming to birth, there

8 Galatians 3 : 16; Romans 9 : 7 ff.; I Corinthians 15 : 38.
9 I Timothy 5 : 23.
10 II Peter 3 : 6.
11 Tyerman, "Life and Times of John Wesley," III, p. 11.

dwelt at Alexandria, that rendezvous of Greek philosophy and Oriental mysticism, an advanced and educated Jew, Philo by name. He desired to reconcile the law of Moses with Greek philosophy. But the only way to find Plato in Leviticus was to transform Leviticus. Philo, therefore, cultivated the art of discriminating between the obvious meaning of a passage and a hypothetical fictitious "deeper" meaning. He forgot all about original context and intention and polished away the plain implications of the sacred volume of Judaism by means of allegorization. Philo did not desire to believe that Cain slew Abel.[12] By a magic change of "him" to "himself," Philo let Cain commit suicide. And thus the "deeper" significance of the sentence "Cain slew him" became all sin is self-destructive. The four streams of Eden became prudence, courage, self-control, and justice. Sarah was a wife of Abraham, but Sarah was also "virtue" and "abstract wisdom."

Christianity very early availed itself of the same method of allegorization. The fourth chapter of the letter to the Galatians illustrates what Paul could accomplish as allegorizer. Martin Luther felt that the allegory of Sarah and Hagar was "too weak to hold." The Epistle to the Hebrews abounds in allegorization. The most daring flights of allegory are attempted in the Epistle of Barnabas. The three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham are converted into

12 Genesis 4 : 8.

the name and cross of Jesus. The cloven-hoofed animals of the eleventh chapter of Leviticus are transformed into the two-fold walking of the righteous in this age and the age to come. Half a dozen passages in the Old Testament are made to refer to the baptism of Christians. IV Ezra is drawn upon for a prediction of the cross, although that apocalypse was written after the death of Jesus. Finally, the author of the Epistle of Barnabas even robs Judaism of its holy book.[13]

Jerome was asked to interpret the appearance of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in connection with the one hundred nineteenth psalm. The request furnished that oily gentleman with the rare opportunity of demonstrating that the entire plan of salvation was wrapped up in the Hebrew letters. For did not "aleph" represent the Latin *doctrina;* beth, *domus;* gimel, *plenitudo;* daleth, *tabularum!* Hence, the conclusion must be reached that "the doctrine of the church, the house of God, is found in its fullness in the divine books." Probably Jerome's wildest pioneering effort was engaged in, when he dealt with the thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and hundred-fold of the parable of the four soils:

> "Although the hundred-fold, sixty-fold, and thirty-fold spring from one earth and from one sowing, yet there is a great difference in respect of number. The *thirty-fold*

13 Barnabas, chapters 9 ff.

has reference to marriage. The very way the fingers are combined, see how they seem to embrace, tenderly kiss, and pledge their troth, either to the other, is a picture of husband and wife. The *sixty-fold applies* to widows, because they are placed in a position of difficulty and distress . . . moreover . . . to denote a hundred, the right hand is used instead of the left. A circle is made with the same fingers which on the left hand represented widowhood *and thus the crown of virginity is expressed.*" [14]

Dionysius, the Areopagite, made the teeth, the dividing of perfect spiritual nourishment; the ears, the conscious participation and reception of divine inspiration; the taste, the fullness of intellectual food; the eyelids and eyebrows, the guarding of the conceptions which reveal God; and the touch, skillful discrimination.[15]

Other splendid harvests of the allegorical sowing are to ripen the birds in the branches of the mustard seed plant into heretics; the sleeping friend or unjust judge into God; the unjust steward into the just Christian.[16]

In a much read modern religious book, definitions like these may be found:

14 Against Jovinian I, 3. Similarly Daniel 2 : 45 is made to refer to the virgin birth and Isaiah 11 : 1 to the mother of the Lord, "Nicene Post Nicene Fathers," VI.
15 Parker, "Dionysius the Areopagite," p. 45 ff.
16 Mark 4 : 30-32; Luke 11 : 5-8, 18 : 1-8.

"Angels. God's thoughts passing to man; spiritual intuitions, pure and perfect; the inspiration of goodness, purity, and immortality, giving the lie to evil, sensuality, and mortality.

"Bridegroom. Spiritual understanding; the pure consciousness that God, the divine Principle, creates man as His own idea, and is the only creative power.

"Children. Life, Truth, and Love's spiritual thoughts and representatives; sensual and mortal beliefs; counterfeits of creation, whose better originals are God's thoughts, not in embryo, but in maturity; material suppositions of life, substance, and intelligence, opposed to the Science of Being.

"Death. An illusion, for there is no death; the unreal and untrue; the opposite of Good, God, or Life.

"Matter has no life, and hence it has no real existence. Mind is immortal. The flesh, warring against Spirit, frets itself free from one belief, only to be fettered by another, until every belief yields to the understanding of God, eternal Life. Any material evidence of death is false, for it contradicts the spiritual facts of Being.

"Eve. A beginning; mortality; that which does not last forever; a finite belief concerning life, substance, and intelligence in matter; error; the belief that the human race

originated materially instead of spiritually, —that man started firstly from dust, secondly from a rib, and thirdly from an egg.

"Gihon (river). The rights of woman acknowledged—morally, civilly, and socially." [17]

Another method of interpreting the Bible is to fit its statements into existing theological systems. Adopted doctrines and dogmas are buttressed by citing irrelevant scripture texts. Exegesis thus becomes a matter of gathering and arranging so-called proof texts. Preconceived opinions actually determine the selection and transformation of verses with originally different meanings. Investigation arrives at assumed conclusions. An entire theological system may be derived from a fragment of a perfectly innocent sentence. The book of Job is regarded as sound evangelical dogma. Adam, the husband of that arch-sinner Eve, is considered an orthodox Protestant. In a word, *results otherwise obtained are thereupon discovered in the Bible.*

The conclusion is the point of departure for digging out supporting scripture verses. A series of backward somersaults lands the theologian at the starting point. After the trinitarian conception has become a dogma, it is easy to observe the *plural* word for God in the Hebrew of the first verse in the Bible and the "let us make man" of

17 "Science and Health," 62nd edition, revised, 1891, 558 ff.

the twenty-sixth verse of the same chapter and refer them to the Christian trinity. Having subscribed to the apocalyptic program that the world was coming to an end in A.D. 1260, Joachim could derive his whole scheme of the future from the Bible.[18] Having TNT, one may observe the prediction of its manufacture in the wholly guiltless book of Job. When the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm had taken place and the world war armistice had been signed on November the eleventh at the eleventh hour, it was not extraordinarily hazardous to turn to the eleventh book of the Bible the eleventh chapter and the eleventh verse and read a "prophecy" to the effect that "the Eternal said unto Solomon, I will tear the kingdom from you and give it to your servant." Of course, the investigator must carefully omit the twelfth verse which states that Solomon is not to lose the kingdom and also forget that the *kingdom* was to be continued. But these things are trifles.[19] When the automobile is racing up and down all the roads of the nation, the chains, mufflers, head-tires, mirrors, smells, and rope of Isaiah's description of ancient styles may serve as anticipations of the universal car.[20] When the doctrine of the duality in deity has been accepted, the mother goddess may readily be discerned in the feminine word love, the feminine Wisdom, the queen at the side of the king, and the "she shall

18 Matthew 1 : 17 ; Revelation 11 : 3.
19 I Kings 11 : 11, 12.
20 Isaiah 3 : 16-26.

be called" of Jeremiah.[21] When Mother Ann Lee has been elevated to the level of deity, the demonstration of the correctness of the faith may easily be noticed in the section in Zechariah announcing the bringing forth "of the headstone with shoutings crying Grace, grace unto it." For a dogmatic imagination is always able to perform the impossible feat of converting the altogether plain Hebrew "hn hn lh" into Ann Ann Lee.[22] But proof text specialists cannot on the basis of either Job or Malachi state what modern machine will be patented in 1930.

The literal, allegorical, and dogmatic methods of interpreting the Bible promote its misunderstanding because they are so haphazard, uncontrolled, capricious. They represent exegetical anarchy. They are literary Bolshevism. They utterly neglect original intention. They start anywhere and get anywhere. Laws of language, types of discourse, sound principles of investigation, are thrown out of doors. They reduce the Bible to a barren waste. Whether they start with a scripture text and spin out their webs of infinite possibilities or begin with an assumed dogma and sandpaper irrelevant scriptures to get a sawing edge, they engage in armchair gymnastics. These methods of interpretation seem based upon a very high regard for the Bible, but they sin against the Bible by destroying its

21 Psalm 45 : 9 ; Jeremiah 33 : 16.
22 Zechariah 4 : 6-10, White-Taylor, "Shakerism," p. 270.

beauty, simplicity, and genuineness. Instead of saving the character of God, they tamper with truth. The isolation of a text often proves a boomerang as when the Bible is made to prove that there is no God by way of the fool's heart soliloquy. These methods of interpreting the Bible cannot survive in this modern world. But while they endure, they help make the Bible the great unknown book of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER II

THE DIFFICULT BIBLE

Protestantism has generally affirmed the simplicity and clarity of the Bible. A seventeenth-century pronouncement of this sort states:

> "Although there be some hard things in the Scripture (especially such as have proper relation to the times in which they were first uttered, and prophecies of things which were afterwards to be fulfilled), yet all things necessary to be known unto everlasting salvation are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that kind is spoken under dark mysteries in one place which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainly, to the capacity both of learned and unlearned."[1]

Roman Catholicism, on the other hand, is convinced that the Bible is a difficult and obscure book.

> "The very nature of the Bible ought to prove to any thinking man the impossibility

1 "Irish Articles of Religion," A.D., 1615. Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," III, 527.

> of its being the one safe method to find out what the Saviour taught. It is not a simple clear as crystal volume that a little child may understand. . . . Indeed, when one reflects for a moment what the Bible is—a number of sublime, mysterious books, written thousands of years ago by men of a different civilization and tongue; and especially when one knows that it deals with God's revelation of doctrine and morals to His people, he must needs expect to find things hard to be understood. . . . Historically, we are certain that the Bible has never been the way to find out Christ." [2]

The Judaism of the time of Jesus was perplexed by the discrepancies between the Pentateuch and Ezekiel, between Samuel and Chronicles. Books like Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Jonah caused no little discussion in learned Jewish circles.

The author of the Second Epistle of Peter experienced difficulty in appreciating the letters of Paul.[3] Origen, a third century Alexandrian Christian intellectual, proposed various interpretations of the Bible to escape the problem of taking the Bible literally. Another Alexandrian Christian sought refuge from the swimming iron ax-head of Elisha by having recourse to Chris-

2 Conway, "Question Box," 67-70.
3 II Peter 3 : 16.

tian baptism.[4] The Roman bishop Damasus could not understand how God had made all things good and yet "given charge to Noah concerning clean and unclean animals" or had allowed a righteous man like Isaac to become the dupe of Jacob. Eleven New Testament passages caused a lady friend of Jerome who signs herself Hedibia anxiety, while Algasia, another lady friend of the same gentleman, was worried over eleven other New Testament pronouncements.[5] The Clementine Homilies familiar with innumerable variations in Old Testament material offer a solution of the distressing problem by way of a true-false scripture.

> "Then Peter said: 'If, therefore, some of the scriptures are true and some are false, with good reason said our Master, "Be ye good money-changers," inasmuch as in the scriptures there are some true sayings and some spurious. And to those who err by reason of the false scriptures, He fitly showed the cause of their error, saying, 'Ye do therefore err, not knowing the true things of the scripture; for this reason ye are ignorant also of the power of God.'
>
> "Then Peter answered: 'Assuredly, with good reason, I neither believe anything against God, nor against the just man

4 II Kings 6 : 4-7.
5 Jerome's letters, 35, 120, 121.

recorded in the law, taking for granted that they are impious imaginations. For, as I am persuaded, neither Adam was a transgressor, who was fashioned by the hands of God; nor was Noah drunken, who was found righteous above all the world; nor did Abraham live with three wives at once, who, on account of his sobriety was thought worthy of a numerous posterity; nor did Jacob associate with four—of whom two were sisters—who was the father of twelve tribes, and who intimated the coming of the presence of our Master, nor was Moses a murderer, nor did he learn to judge from an idolatrous priest—he who set forth the law of God to all the world and for his right judgment has been testified to as a faithful steward.' ''[6]

Variations within the Old Testament challenge the sincere student of the Bible. A few examples will suffice to indicate the seriousness of the situation.

Was Creation in Six Days or One Day?

And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it *was* very good. And the evening and the morning were the *sixth* day.

These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, *in the day* that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens.[7]

6 Homilies, XVI, 13; II, 48 ff. "Ante Nicene Fathers," VIII, 238 f., 315.

7 Genesis 1:31, 2:4.

Two of Every Kind or Fourteen of the Clean?

And of every living thing of all flesh, *two of every sort* shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep *them* alive with thee; they shall be male and female.

Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee *by sevens*, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female.[8]

Did Samuel Fávor or Oppose the Appointment of Saul as King?

Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, And said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said give us a king to judge us.

Now the Lord had told Samuel in his ear a day before Saul came, saying, Tomorrow, about this time, I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin; and thou shalt anoint him *to be* captain over my people Israel, that he may save my people out of the hand of the Philistines: for I have looked upon my people, because their cry is come unto me. And when Samuel saw Saul, the Lord said unto him, Behold the man whom I spake to thee of! this same shall reign over my people.[9]

Who Directed David to Take the Census?

And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah.

And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel.[10]

8 Genesis 6 : 19, 7 : 2.
9 I Samuel 8 : 4 ff., 9 : 15 ff.
10 II Samuel 24 : 1 ff.; I Chronicles 21 : 1.

Who Killed Goliath?

And the priest said, The sword of Goliath the Philistine, whom thou (David) slewest in the valley of Elah, behold it is here wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod: if thou wilt take that, take it: for there is no other save that here.

And there was again a battle in Gob with the Philistines, where Elhanan the son of Jare-oregim, a Bethlehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear *was* like a weaver's beam.[11]

The variations within the New Testament increase the difficulties of the believers in the Bible "from cover to cover." Consider the birth roll of Jesus Christ as given by Matthew and by Luke.

	Matthew		*Luke*
	Abraham		Abraham
	Isaac		Isaac
	Jacob		Jacob
	Judah		Judah
	Perez		Perez
	Hezron		Hezron
14	Aram		Arni
	Aminadab	15	Admin
	Nahshon		Aminadab
	Salmon		Nahshon
	Boaz		Sala
	Obed		Boaz
	Jessai		Jobed
	David		Jessai
			David

11 I Samuel 21 : 9; II Samuel 21 : 19.

14	Solomon	
	Rehoboam	
	Abijah	
	Asa	
	Jehoshaphat	
	Joram	
	Uzziah	
	Jotham	
	Ahaz	
	Hezekiah	
	Manasseh	
	Amon	
	Josiah	
	Jechoniah	

Old Testament

Jehoram	
Ahaziah	
Joash	
Amaziah	
Azariah-Uzziah	
Josiah	
Jehoiakim	
Jechoniah	

19	Nathan
	Mattatha
	Menna
	Melea
	Eliakim
	Jonam
	Joseph
	Judas
	Symeon
	Mathat
	Jorim
	Eliezer
	Jesus
	Er
	Elmadam
	Kosam
	Addi
	Melchi
	Neri

12	Shealtiel
	Zerubbabel
	Abiud
	Eliakim
	Azor
	Zadok
	Achim
	Eliud
	Eleazar
	Matthan
	Jacob
	Joseph
40	

21	Shealtiel
	Zerubbabel
	Rhesa
	Joanan
	Joda
	Josech
	Semein
	Mattathias
	Maath
	Naggai
	Esli
	Nahum
	Amos
	Mattathias
	Joseph
	Jannai
	Melchi
	Levi
	Matthat
	Heli
	Joseph [12]
55	

[12] Matthew 1 : 1-17 ; Luke 3 : 23-38, Moffatt translation.

Each gospel claims to be giving the ancestral line of Joseph. But elsewhere in the opening chapters of both the gospel of Matthew and the gospel of Luke, Jesus is denied sonship to Joseph. Beyond the time of David there is general agreement, but otherwise the two genealogies tend to vary. Matthew states that there are forty-two generations between Abraham and Jesus, but actually mentions only forty generations. For the same period, Luke has fifty-five generations. Matthew must allow some fifty years to the generation, Luke some forty years. Matthew represents Uzziah as the son of Joram, whereas the Old Testament lets Uzziah be the great-grandson of Joram. The Old Testament likewise represents Josiah as the grandfather of Jechoniah. Tatian who fashioned a harmony of the gospels for Syrian Christians suppressed these divergent genealogies.

What Was the Date of the Crucifixion?

Nisan 14

Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end. . . . And supper being ended, the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him:

Nisan 15

Now the first *day* of the *feast* of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover? And he said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples. And the disciples

Nisan 14

For some *of them* thought because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy *those things* that we have need of against the feast; or, that he should give something to the poor. . . . Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment: and it was early; and *they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover. . . . And it was the preparation of the passover,* and about the sixth hour: and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King! . . . The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day, (for that sabbath day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and *that* they might be taken away.[13]

Nisan 15

did as Jesus had appointed them; and they made ready the passover. Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve. And as they did eat, he said,[14]

Did Women Speak During Worship in the Church at Corinth?

But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with *her* head uncovered dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame

Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but *they are commanded* to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their hus-

13 John 13 : 1, 29 ; 18 : 28 ; 19 : 14, 31.
14 Mark 14 : 12, 15, 17, 18 ; Matthew 26 : 17-21 ; Luke 22 : 13-16.

for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered.

bands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.[15]

What Was the Ritual of the Communion?

The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?

For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus, the *same* night in which he was betrayed, took bread: And when he had given thanks, he brake *it,* and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also *he took* the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.[16]

Was Jesus' Presence to be Physical or Spiritual?

For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive *and* remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive *and* remain shall be

I will ask the Father to give you another Helper to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth. . . . I will not leave you forlorn; I am coming to you. A little while longer and the world will see me no more; but you will see me because I am living and you will be living too. . . .

If any one loves me he will obey my word, and my

15 I Corinthians 11:5, 6; 14:34-36.
16 I Corinthians 10:16; 11:23-25.

caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.

Father will love him, and we will come to him and take up our abode with him.

As thou, Father, art in me and I in you so may they be in us.[17]

Another kind of difficulty is occasioned by the differences between the Old Testament and the New Testament. The New Testament contains many quotations from the Old Testament. Sometimes they agree with both the Hebrew and Greek Old Testaments; sometimes they agree with the Hebrew against the Greek; very often they agree with Greek against the Hebrew; and again they differ from both the Hebrew and the Greek. The prevailing agreement with the Greek Old Testament against the Hebrew is illustrated in the following quotations:

New Testament	*Old Testament*	
	GREEK	HEBREW
Then Joseph sent for his father Jacob and all his kinsfolk, *amounting to seventy-five souls;*	*Seventy-five souls.*	Seventy souls.[18]
This was the man who at the assembly in the desert intervened between the angel who spoke to him on mount	Jehovah came from Sinai and shined forth from Seir unto them. He hastened from Mt. Paran with the ten	No passage contains reference to the presence of angels at the giving of the law.[19]

17 I Thessalonians 4 : 15 ff.; John 14 : 16, 23; 17 : 21.
18 Acts 7 : 14; Genesis 46 : 27; Exodus 1 : 5; Deuteronomy 10 : 22.
19 Acts 7 : 38; Galatians 3 : 19; Hebrews 2 : 2; Exodus 19 : 3, 20; Deuteronomy 9 : 10, 33 : 2.

New Testament	*Old Testament*	
	GREEK	HEBREW
Sinai and our fathers; he received living Words to be given to us.	thousand holy ones. *At his right hand the angels with him.*	
While he says of angels, *'Who makes his angels into winds, his servants into flames of fire,'*	*Who makes his angels winds, and his ministers a flame of fire.*	Who makes his messengers of winds, his ministers of flaming fire.[20]
he says, *'Let all God's angels worship him,'*	*And let all the angels of God worship him.*	Hail his people, O ye pagans; for he avenges the blood of his servants,[21]
You shall not tempt the Lord your God."	*You shall not tempt the Lord your God.*	Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God.[22]

Christians made the Old Testament a new book by applying passages there concerned with Jehovah to Christ [23] or by assuming that Christians were the true Israel of God [24] or by altering the phraseology of the Old Testament.[25] Take, for example, a quotation from the Old Testament found in the synoptic gospels:

20 Hebrews 1 : 7 ; Psalm 104 : 4.
21 Hebrews 1 : 6 ; Deuteronomy 32 : 43.
22 Matthew 4 : 7 ; Deuteronomy 6 : 16 ; see further Romans 3 : 4, 4 : 3, 4 : 17, 4 : 25, 9 : 29 ; Galatians 3 : 6.
23 I Corinthians 1 : 31 ; II Corinthians 10 : 17.
24 Romans 4 ; Galatians 3 : 15 ff., 6 : 16.
25 Isaiah 40 : 3 ; Mark 1 : 3 ; Matthew 3 : 3 ; Luke 3 : 4.

Old Testament	*New Testament*
the voice of one who cries in the desert, 'Make the way ready for the Lord, level the paths for *our God*'	*the voice of one who cries in the desert,* *'Make the way ready for the Lord,* *level the paths for him'*—

The Old Testament uses *Kyrios* for Lord and *theos* for God. The New Testament retains the *Kyrios* but alters the meaning of *theos* by changing it to *him.*

The New Testament attitude is often in conflict with that of the Old Testament.

Old Testament	*New Testament*
But, if any further mischief follows, then it must be life for life, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot, a burn for a burn, a wound for a wound, a lash for a lash.	If a man strikes you on the one cheek, offer him the other as well: if any one takes your coat, do not deny him your shirt as well; give to any one who asks you, and do not ask your goods back from any one who has taken them.[26]
On his way to Bethel, as he was walking up the road, some small boys from the town mocked him, crying, "Walk up, baldhead! walk up, baldhead!" When he looked round and saw them, he cursed them in the name of the Eternal; two she-bears came out of the wood and mangled forty-two of the boys.	Love is never rude, never selfish, never irritated, *never resentful;* love is never glad when others go wrong, love is gladdened by goodness, always slow to expose, always eager to believe the best, always hopeful, always patient.[27]

26 Exodus 21 : 23-25; Deuteronomy 19 : 21; Luke 6 : 29.
27 II Kings 2 : 23 f.; I Corinthians 13.

Old Testament	*New Testament*
In the cool of the day, when they heard the sound of God the Eternal walking in the park, the man and his wife hid from the presence of God, the Eternal among the trees of the park; but God the Eternal called to the man and asked him, "Where are you?" "I heard the sound of you in the park," he answered, "and I was afraid, because I was naked; so I hid myself."	God no one has ever seen.[28]

The Bible is a difficult book for many modern persons because they are ignorant of ancient literary methods. The era of the printed page, of exact quotation and reference, and of the copyright is incommensurable with the day of the manuscript, when writings might be regarded as the property of a group, when a book might consist of a series of smaller books, when specific authorship might not be claimed. Does the gospel of Matthew or that of Mark or that of Luke contain the name of its author? Does the Pentateuch itself lay claim to Mosaic authorship? It required centuries ere the Pentateuch became authorized holy literature. About the middle of the ninth century before Christ, its earliest stratum was deposited. A century later its second stratum appeared. Another century went by ere these two codes were combined. Three decades later Deuteronomy was published. The Babylonian exile witnessed the production of the Holiness

[28] Genesis 3 : 8-10; I John 4 : 12.

code and the combination of JED. After another century had passed, the latest material of the Pentateuch emerged. Further decades of years were necessary to effect the consolidation of the codes and their canonization as the Law of Moses. Similarly, Tatian boldly fashioned an interwoven gospel from the four canonical gospels. Many authors during a number of centuries put forth the Sibylline Oracles. Several authors in the course of a couple of centuries produced the Ethiopic Enoch. Both the Didache and the Epistle of Barnabas employ a document known as "The Two Ways." The present conclusion of the gospel according to Mark replaced the genuine ending penned by the author. The Book of Jubilees modified the narratives of the Pentateuch at will. Later writers attributed their productions to earlier worthies to insure their perusal and acceptance. And to cap the climax, the guesses of subsequent times become the inspired headings of the author who never constructed them.

According to the traditional theory of the origin of the Bible, its books preserve all existing "divine" compositions. The Bible is a collection of the total of divinely inspired volumes. It originated in a process of inclusion not of exclusion and selection. The hypothesis is destroyed by the dependence of one biblical book upon another and especially by the disappearance of writings quoted by the authors of the biblical books. For

if both the Old Testament and the New Testament as well are composed of books selected out of a larger number of existing books, and if the books retained were built up out of earlier documents, the problem of inspiration becomes little less than acute. And why should this earlier Bible have vanished?

The first chapter of First Chronicles is traceable in Genesis.[29] Let us arrange in parallel columns four selections from the Old Testament.

In after days it shall be
that the Eternal's hill shall rise,
towering over every hill,
and higher than the heights.
Nations shall stream to it,
and many a people shall exclaim,
"Come, let us go to the Eternal's hill,
to the house of Jacob's God,
that he may instruct us in his ways,
to walk upon his paths."
For instruction comes from Sion,
and from Jerusalem the Eternal's word.
He will decide the disputes of many races,
and arbitrate between strong foreign powers,
till swords are beaten into ploughshares,
and spears into pruning-hooks;

In after days it shall be
that the Eternal's hill shall rise,
towering over every hill,
and higher than the heights.
To it shall all the nations stream,
and many a folk exclaim,
"Come, let us go to the Eternal's hill,
to the house of Jacob's God,
that he may instruct us in his ways,
to walk upon his paths."
For instruction comes from Sion,
and from Jerusalem the Eternal's word.
He will decide the disputes of the nations,
and settle many a people's case,
till swords are beaten into ploughshares,
spears into pruning hooks;

29 For example, verses 1-4, Genesis 5; verses 5-11, Genesis 10 : 2-8, 13; II Chronicles 12 : 2, 9-11 = I Kings 14 : 25-28.

no nation draws the sword
against another,
no longer shall men learn to
fight,
but live each underneath his
vine
and underneath his fig-tree,
in terror of no one:

Profane men think,
"There is no God!"
Depraved their lives are and
detestable,
not one of them does right.
The Eternal looks from
heaven upon mankind,
to see if any have the sense
to care for God.

But all are faithless,
one and all are tainted;
none does what is right,
no, not a single one.

Shall they not rue it, these
rascals,
who devour my people with
their extortion?
Ha! there they are in a
panic,
for God is indeed with the
godly!
You would baffle these weak
folk?
But the Eternal is their
resource.

[[O that Israel's deliverance
would come from Sion!
When the Eternal restores
the fortunes of his peo-
ple,
how Jacob will exult,
how glad will Israel be!]]

no nation draws the sword
against another,
no longer shall men learn to
fight.

Profane men think,
"There is no God!"
Depraved their lives are and
detestable,
not one of them does right.
God looks from heaven
upon mankind,
to see if any have the sense
to care for God.

But all have lapsed,
one and all are tainted,
not one does what is right,
no, not a single one.

Shall they not rue it, these
rascals,
who devour my people with
their extortion?
Ha! here they are in a panic!
God scatters them;
their evil plan is defeated,
for God spurns them.

[[O that Israel's deliverance
would come from Sion!
When God restores the for-
tunes of his people,
how Jacob will exult,
how glad will Israel be!]]

The verbal similarity of these selections is evident. Yet in the first instance both Micah and Isaiah are quoted, while in the second instance both the fourteenth psalm and the fifty-third psalm are quoted.[30] To what are these duplications due? Did Micah depend upon Isaiah, Isaiah upon Micah or did both preserve a bit of poetry from an unknown idealist?

Literary compositions referred to in the Bible have been destroyed by time.

It was on the day when the Eternal handed over the Amorites to the Israelites that Joshua said to the Eternal before Israel,

"O sun, stand over Gibeon!
Move not, O moon, from Ajalon vale!
The sun stood still, the moon moved not,
till the folk had taken vengeance on their foes."

(Is not the song written in the book of Heroes?) The sun stood still in the middle of the sky, and never hastened to set for about a whole day. Never was there a day like that, before or since, when the Eternal listened to the cry of a man; for the Eternal was fighting for Israel.[31]

Not only the book of Heroes but those of the Wars of Jehovah, Acts of Solomon, Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, Samuel the Seer, Nathan the Prophet, Gad the Seer, Visions of Iddo, Shemaiah the prophet have vanished. *And yet these writ-*

30 Micah 4 : 1-3=Isaiah 2 : 2-4 ; Psalm 14=Psalm 53 ; likewise Psalm 18=II Samuel 22 : 1-51 ; II Chronicles 36 : 22 ff.=Ezra 1 : 1-3a ; Jeremiah 52 : 1-27=II Kings 24 : 18-25 : 21 ; Psalm 108=Psalms 57 : 8-12 and 60 : 7-14.

31 Joshua 10 : 12-14 cf. II Samuel 1 : 18 ; Numbers 21 : 14 ; Exodus 24 : 7 ; I Kings 11 : 41, 14 : 29, 15 : 7, 23 ; Esther 6 : 1, 10 : 2 ; I Chronicles 29 : 29 ; II Chronicles 9 : 29, 12 : 15. Compare also the variations between the Greek and Hebrew forms of Jeremiah, e.g., 29 : 16-20, 33 : 14-26, 39 : 4-13, 52 : 28 ff.

ings were sources of authors whose productions form the Old Testament.

The same situation is met with in the New Testament. Where are the gospels beyond the gospel of Mark consulted by the author of Luke? Where is the former letter to the Corinthians? Where are the letters from the first half of Paul's Christian career? There were letters written by brethren of Pauline churches. They are no longer extant. Words of Jesus which the canonical gospels fail to report were known to primitive Christians. Colossians refers to a letter from the Laodiceans. Marcion's list enumerated a letter to the Laodiceans. The Muratorian Fragment states that "there is also an Epistle to the Laodiceans." As is well known, an Epistle to the Laodiceans frequently puts in an appearance during and after the sixth century. It is spurious. But Gregory the Great regarded it as Pauline and it was read in Bohemia, Germany and England to the period of the Reformation.[32]

Just why should compositions regarded by the writers of the Bible as like unto their own not have been supernaturally preserved?

Protestant Bibles used to print a number of books labeled "apocrypha." The Roman Catholic Bible still contains some of them as canonical scripture. The Apocrypha include I Esdras, II Esdras, Tobit, Judith, The Rest of Esther,

32 Luke 1:1-4; I Corinthians 5:9; II Thessalonians 2:15, 3:17; Acts 18:27, 20:35; Colossians 4:6.

The Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah, The Song of the Three Holy Children, The History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasses, I and II Maccabees. There is no agreement regarding the origin of the title. "Apocryphal" was formerly interpreted as signifying "hidden" or "concealed," but it has now been shown that the underlying Hebrew root referred to the "storing away" of precious things and could be used of the canonical books. Meanings varying from "reserved" and "esoteric" books to "books of secondary value" and finally "rejected books" and "heretical books" are traceable in the usage of the term "apocryphal."

The most important point about the Apocrypha for our present purpose is that the New Testament writings now and then seem to take them for granted. Thus, the author of Hebrews says:

> "He, reflecting God's bright glory and stamped with God's own character, sustains the universe with his word of power."

Is this reminiscent of the Wisdom of Solomon:

> "For she is a breath of the power of God,
> And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty . . .
> For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
> And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
> And an image of his goodness." [33]

[33] Hebrews 1 : 3, Wisdom 7 : 25 f. See W. H. Daubney, "The Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church," pp. 12-31; Charles, "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," I.

In both quotations the word *apaugasma,* reflected brightness or effulgence, otherwise unknown, occurs. Indeed, the Authorized Version formerly contained a marginal reference to the Wisdom of Solomon at this point which the Revised Version has restored. In the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, the Revisers refer to the Apocrypha no less than twenty times, the principal background being II Maccabees 6:18-7:42. They also associate the following passages with the Apocrypha: Matthew 27:43; Romans 1:20 ff., 4:3, 12:15. The Epistle of James has over two score resemblances to the Apocrypha. The Bible of the Ethiopic church contained forty-six books in the Old Testament and thirty-five books in the New Testament.[34] The student of the Bible cannot escape the difficulties connected with the presence of the Apocrypha in the Bible and their exclusion therefrom.

And the Bible of some primitive Christians was more extensive than the present Old Testament plus the Apocrypha. For the Epistle of Jude refers to the Assumption of Moses and cites the Book of Enoch.[35] Both the Old Testament and the New Testament betray familiarity with the Ahikar folk tale. Such an apocalyptic term as "son of man" requires as background the two centuries preceding the Christian era. And thus the myth of the "four centuries of silence" is ex-

34 Gregory, "Text and Canon of the New Testament," p. 290.
35 Jude 9, 14, 15.

ploded. In fact, some very significant Jewish writings, appearing under assumed names and therefore designated Pseudepigrapha, were composed between the second pre-Christian century and the second century of the Christian era. After the period of Ezra and Nehemiah, there arose an overemphasis upon legalism and a corresponding depreciation of prophecy.[36] The reputation of an earlier religious giant, such as Moses, Enoch, Baruch, Daniel, Ezra, could, however, be employed to make an impression. And it was much less of a risk to proclaim the new truth under an ancient name. The cessation and suppression of prophecy in connection with a very complex and distressing religious and political experience produced the pseudonymous apocalypse. Some of this literature has high ethical value, as a quotation demonstrates.

> "Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.
>
> "But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing and so thou sin double. And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea he may also honor thee and be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart and leave to God the avenging." [37]

[36] Zechariah 13 : 1-5.

[37] Charles, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." II, 341. The second volume of Charles, 834 pages, contains these pseudonymous productions

Name	*Type of Literature*	*Approximate Date*	*Original Language*	*Selected Passages*
Ahikar	Folk-tale	ca. 500 B.C.	Aramaic	Chapter 7:15 ff.; Charles II 765 ff.
Sibylline Oracles	Apocalyptic	From second century B.C. on for several centuries	Greek	III lines, 105-131; 575 ff.; 767-795, II 381, etc.
Letter of Aristeas	Legendary	Second or first century B.C. (with later additions)	Greek	187-297; 301-316, II, 112
Book of Jubilees (Little Genesis)	Reinterpreted early history	Late second century B.C.	Hebrew	Chapters 12, 17, 18, 37 II, p. 39, 68
I (Ethiopic) Enoch	Apocalyptic	Second century B.C. to first century A.D.	6-36 Aramaic 1-5, 37 - 104 Hebrew	Chapters 46, 48, 51, 57 II, pp. 214, etc.
Testaments of XII Patriarchs	Apocalyptic	Very late second century B.C. and later additions	Hebrew	Gad. 6:3-7, II 341, Isaiah 5:2, 7:6, II 327 Reuben 6:7-12, II 300

Name	*Type of Literature*	*Approximate Date*	*Original Language*	*Selected Passages*
Psalms of Solomon	Poetical	63-40 B.C.	Hebrew	Psalm 17, 18 f., II, 647 ff.
Fragments of a Zadokite work	Historical	Late first century B.C. (Charles 18-8 B.C.)	Hebrew	Chapter 10 II, p. 823; Chapter 13 II, p. 827
III Maccabees	Historical	Probably late second century B.C.	Greek	Chapter 5-7 I 169 ff.
IV Maccabees	Wisdom	Probably early first century A.D.	Greek	Chapter 15-17 II 680 ff.
Assumption (Testament) of Moses	Apocalyptic	Between 7 and 30 A.D.	Hebrew	Chapter 10 II 421 f.
II (Slavonic) Enoch (Book of Secrets of Enoch)	Apocalyptic	First half of first Christian century	Greek	Chapter 7, 8 II 433 ff.
Odes of Solomon (possibly of Christian origin)	Poetical	First century A.D. or later	Greek	Ode 19, 27, 42

Name	*Type of Literature*	*Approximate Date*	*Original Language*	*Selected Passages*
Books of Adam and Eve	Legendary	Not earlier than first century A.D. for bulk of work	Hebrew	Chapter 12-17 II 137
Martyrdom of Isaiah	Legendary	First century A.D.	Hebrew	Chapter 3, 5 II 161 ff.
IV Ezra	Apocalyptic	First century A.D.	Hebrew	Chapter 5 II, 569; Chapter 7 : 26 ff., II, 582
II (Syriac) Baruch	Apocalyptic	First or second century A.D.	Hebrew	Chapter 49-52 II, 508
III (Greek) Baruch	Apocalyptic	First half of second century A.D.	Greek	Chapter 4 ff., II, 535 ff.
Pirke Aboth	Ethical and religious maxims	Third century B.C. to third century A.D.	Hebrew	Chapter 3 II, 698 ff.

Of these Pseudepigrapha, only IV Ezra succeeded in securing sanction for ecclesiastical use and appears at present as one of the Apocrypha in the appendix of the Revised Version. Jewish legalism repudiated these compositions and the Septuagint does not contain them.

It is fortunate that the Eastern provincial Christian churches did not share the attitude of the Catholic church toward the Pseudepigrapha, for to them our gratitude is due for the preservation of these treasures.

The relativity of the Bible presents a stupendous issue to the literalistic Christian. Momerie called attention to this, when he wrote that there is a difference

> "between the God of Samuel who ordered infants to be slaughtered, and the God of the Psalmist whose tender mercy is over all his works; between the God of the patriarchs who was always repenting, and the God of the Apostles, who is the same yesterday, today, and forever, with whom there is no variableness nor shadow of turning; between the God of the Old Testament who walked in the garden in the cool of the day, and the God of the New Testament whom no man hath seen or can see, between the God of Leviticus

classified as to content, with an accurate translation, brilliant introductions, and a sufficient commentary for general appreciation. The appended outline is based principally upon the Charles edition and the Kautzsch edition.

> who was so particular about sacrificial furniture and utensils and the God of Acts who dwelleth not in temples made with hands; between the God who hardened Pharaoh's heart, and the God who will have all men to be saved; between the God of Exodus who is merciful only to those who love him and the God of Christ, the heavenly Father, who is kind unto the unthankful and the evil." [38]

Jesus criticized the ethic of the Old Testament.[39] Its polytheism, its descriptions of God as evil, malicious and ignorant, the command to despoil the Egyptians, and the breaking of the Sabbath law at Jericho have offended Christian feeling.[40] The Clementine Homilies explain that the errors are due to ignorant scribes, that false words are in the Old Testament to test the Christianity of the reader, that one who believes evil of God will be damned. Under the test of relativity the verbal inspiration theory breaks down.

It is the conflict between the Bible and modern knowledge that constitutes the most serious present difficulty. Take the simple and concise story of how the earth came to be as recorded in the opening chapters of Genesis. God spoke, and there were light and day and night, day one. God

[38] Quoted by White in "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology" I, 321.

[39] Matthew 5 : 27-48.

[40] Genesis 3 : 5 ; Exodus 23 : 27 ; Deuteronomy 4 : 34, 13 : 16 ; Psalm 35 : 1 ff., 50 : 22, 82 : 1 ; Genesis 3 : 22, 22 : 1, 6 : 6, 8 : 21 ; Exodus 3 : 22, 11 : 2, 12 :35 ; Joshua 6 : 15 ff.

spoke, and there was the solid separating firmament, day two. God spoke, and there were collection of waters at one place, dry land, and vegetation, day three. God spoke, and there were sun and moon and stars, day four. God spoke, and there were water animals and birds, day five. God spoke, and there were land animals and men, day six. About this point science intervenes with a number of objections. It objects to day and night before the existence of the sun, to vegetation before sun and moon and stars and water animals. For fiat, it substitutes a long, long process. It could never support the notion of a solid firmament. *Acriter pugnatum est.* Moreover, the historical method of interpreting the Bible points to different documents used in Genesis 1:1-2:4a and the remainder of the second chapter and to Babylonian parallels as well.

Does the earth move on its axis and around the sun or does the earth stand still? Five passages from the Bible have been quoted against the rotation of the earth on its axis and its revolution about the sun.

See, there is the sun's pavilion pitched!
He glows like a bridegroom leaving his chamber,

The generations come and go, but there the earth is, there it shall remain.
The rising sun goes down, it hurries round.

The sun stood still in the middle of the sky, and never hastened to set for about a whole day.

Thou hast steadied and settled the world,[41]

41 See footnote on opposite page.

Hezekiah said, "It is easy for yonder shadow to move forward ten steps; rather let the shadow move back ten steps." Then the prophet Isaiah called to the Eternal, who brought the shadow back for ten steps which it had advanced on the sundial of Ahaz.

In this instance, reason could also be brought into court. If the earth moved, the wind ought to blow from the east continuously. But it does not. Buildings should be shaking. But they do not. If the earth were spherical, the Chinese would be walking with their heads down. But they do not. To move, the earth should need to be equipped with limbs and muscles. And why should the wicked and damned earth be included among the spotless spheres of the upper universe? "The opinion of the earth's motion is of all heresies the most abominable, the most pernicious, the most scandalous; the immovability of the earth is thrice sacred; argument against the immortality of the soul, the existence of God, and the incarnation should be tolerated sooner than an argument to prove that the earth moves," shrieked a fundamentalist of A.D. 1631. But when science had conclusively demonstrated that the earth must move, the theologian reversed himself and quoted

41 Psalm 19 : 4, 5; Ecclesiastes 1 : 4, 5; II Kings 20 : 11; Joshua 10 : 12 f.; Psalm 93 : 1. All the illustrations quoted, and many others may be found in expanded form in "White's History of the Warfare Between Science and Theology," volumes I, II.

from the Bible to prove that it had all along said that the earth was a sphere. For did it not refer to him "that sitteth above the circle of the earth"? Yet a pancake cannot thus easily be turned into a baseball.

Melanchthon assigned the creation of man to 3963 B.C. Ussher later decided upon 4004 B.C. Before the middle of the eighteenth century a couple of hundred varying biblical computations of man's duration had been made. One doctor of divinity concluded in favor of October 23, 4004 B.C. and nine o'clock in the morning as the precise moment when man was made. Swiss lake-dwellings had been made by that time. A thousand years earlier and more, cattle were being domesticated in central Europe. Shellmounds containing pottery date from 8000 B.C. Cro-magnon man reaches back some thirty to fifty millennia of years. Consider the still earlier human forms, and anthropology is many many decades of thousands of years beyond Adam. Who to-day would be stupid enough to pretend to count the hundreds of millions of years demanded by the equation of the universe! The anthropological chronology of the Bible is utterly inadequate.

India can be reached in several ways: by the overland route Eastward and by overwater routes, quoth the merchant of the fifteenth century. The overwater routes were dangerous.

But was the journey to India not much shorter by the water way? Did not the Bible say:

> "Upon the third day thou didst command that the waters should be gathered together in the seventh part of the earth—six parts didst thou dry up and keep them to the intent that of these some being both planted and tilled might serve before thee"? [42]

Here was a proof-text indicating that the dry land was six times as extensive as the water lanes. Curiosity, trade jealousy, and the Bible had something to do with the discovery of America. Yet what modern person would admit the correctness of the Esdras statement!

The Bible is eloquent against the taking of interest.[43] Usury and interest were synonymous until the modern age came on. Councils of the church and almost a score of popes declared against the taking of interest. Dante met money-lenders in one of the hotter sections of hell. There are thousands of fundamentalists who believe in giving and taking interest to-day.

Finally, the chronology of the Bible accounts for some Bible trouble. Older English Bibles contained a marginal chronology assigning the creation of Adam to 4004 B.C. and the birth of Jesus to 4000 A.M. But when the interested mathematician engaged in a little research, he observed that

42 II Esdras 6 : 42.
43 Leviticus 25 : 36, 37; Deuteronomy 23 : 19 f.; Psalm 15 : 5; Ezekiel 18 : 8, 17; Luke 6 : 35.

"biblical" calculations of the date of the creation of Adam have varied from 3500-6984 B.C. The exodus occurred 2,666 or 1,852 or 3,917 years after creation, according as the Hebrew Old Testament, the Samaritan Pentateuch, or the Greek translation of the Old Testament is consulted.

It is puzzling to some to be informed that Jesus was born at least four years "before Christ," and yet if Herod died early in 4 B.C. and Jesus was born under Herod, his birth occurred at least four years before the beginning of the Christian era. We owe the puzzle to Dionysius Exiguus who introduced the "Christian era" in Italy in the sixth century. He began his year with March 25, the day of the Annunciation, according to the ecclesiastical calendar; counted his "A.D. 1" as 754 of the Roman era; let Jesus be born nine months later, that is, on December 25. His calculation was erroneous by several years.

The church historian Eusebius of Cæsarea is somewhat responsible for the quadripaschal theory of the public ministry of Jesus. Eusebius quoted John 2:13, 5:1, 6:4, 13:1 to demonstrate that there were four passovers during the ministry of Jesus. And he assumed that they were successive passovers. But John 5:1 is not a reference to a passover, and the matter of successive passovers is much in question. Thus there is no demand in the New Testament for a ministry of three years. Indeed, Luke 4:19 refers to the "acceptable year of the Lord," which led some

early Christians to assume a public ministry of but one year.

The twentieth century Western man cannot possibly appreciate the intricacies of ancient calendars and chronologies. There was no common, universal calendar. Each nation measured time in its own way. The Jewish civil year began with the autumnal equinox. The Olympiads were dated from July, 776. The Roman civil year finally began January first and was dated from about 753. The Babylonians measured time from Nabonassar, 747 B.C. The Alexandrian year began in August. The Seleucid era was dated from September, 312.[44] Furthermore, the exact length of the year was not known. By the time of Julius Cæsar the difference between the sun and the calendar amounted to two months. The sun does not seem to care what kind of calendars man makes. In 46 before Christ, the Julian calendar was introduced and the sun and the calendar were made to synchronize by the insertion of two months. 46 B.C. was the "year of confusion." The Julian annual unit was 365¼ days. That was a few minutes and seconds too many. Hence as time went on, the sun and calendar parted company more and more. The interval had become about ten days by the sixteenth century. In 1582 the Julian calendar was superseded by the more accurate Gregorian calendar. But Protestantism

44 The French year did not begin with January first until 1563, Scotland following in 1600 and England in 1752. Turkey adopted the Gregorian calendar in January, 1926.

was not inclined to welcome the Catholic revision of the calendar. England, for example, did not adopt the Gregorian calendar until 1752. Russia still objects to repudiating the old calendar, although the difference in time between the sun and the calendar has now increased to some thirteen days.

And the Julian and Gregorian systems are not the only ones in use in the Western world. The Mohammedan era is dated from July 15 or 16, 622 A.D. The era of Constantinople used by the Greek church begins 5508 years and four months before the Christian era. The Armenian era is dated from July 9, 552 A.D. The Armenians recognize a civil year of 365 days and employ the Julian calendar ecclesiastically and the Gregorian calendar when dealing with Europeans commercially.

When we say "after three days," the minimum in mind is forty-eight hours plus, while the minimum for ancient Semites was twenty-four hours plus, provided the plus was on each side of the unit twenty-four. The modern historian counts exactly. Calvin Coolidge's term as president began in August, 1923. We estimate President Harding's term at two years and five months. The ancient Hebrews might have counted it three years and President Coolidge's first term two years instead of one year and seven months. In this way an actual total of four years could be reckoned as five years. But the ancient Hebrew

might also have neglected the portion of the year from August, 1923, to March, 1924, thus reducing President Coolidge's first term to one year. These methods of estimating regal periods anciently in fashion are known as "predating" and "post-dating." Jeroboam I of Israel and Rehoboam of Judah began their respective reigns at the same time. The reign of Jehoram of Israel synchronizes with that of Ahaziah of Judah. Hence, the sum of the reigns of the kings of Israel between Jeroboam I and Jehoram should equal that of the kings of Judah between Rehoboam and Ahaziah. As a matter of fact, however, the former total is ninety-eight years and seven days, whereas the latter amount is ninety-five years. The apparent discrepancy is due to the predating of the reigns of the kings of Israel.[45] Again, Athaliah of Judah and Jehu of Israel began to reign at the same time. The siege of Samaria ended in the sixth year of Hezekiah of Judah which was the ninth year of Hosheah of Israel. Whence, the total number of years between Jehu and the ninth year of Hosheah equals that between Athaliah and the sixth year of Hezekiah. But the latter sum amounts to one hundred sixty-five years whereas the former sum equals one hundred forty-three years and seven months. The apparent discrepancy is due to predating for the kings of Judah.[46]

[45] I, II Kings.
[46] II Kings 10, 11, 18:9, 10. See Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible," I, p. 400.

The primitive Christians were generally indifferent to dates. Their interest was primarily religious and the coming centuries were not within their horizon. They regarded harmony of arrangement as more significant than sequence of time. Biblical chronology becomes fixed when reference is made to a known extra-biblical chronology. A reference to an exact year of a Babylonian king or Seleucid ruler or Roman emperor can of course be exactly equated.[47] Occasionally an incidental remark enables the investigator approximately to date a New Testament event. The reference to Gallio as proconsul of Achaia became very important when the Delphic fragments were recently discovered.[48] For they fixed the proconsulship of Gallio for A.D. 51-52 or A.D. 52-53 with the preference for the former date. Thus Paul's sojourn of about a year and one-half at Corinth could be dated rather exactly.

The upshot of the whole matter is that no exact chronology is derivable from the Bible. The year of the birth of Jesus, the precise duration of his ministry, and the year of his death are debatable questions. Many of the writings of both the Old Testament and the New Testament may not be assigned to definite dates.

The Bible is still a difficult book.

47 II Kings 24 : 12; Jeremiah 25 : 1; I Maccabees 1 : 10, 54, 2 : 70, 3 : 37, 9 : 54, 10 : 67, 13 : 41; Luke 3 : 1; Acts 12.
48 Acts 18.

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSLATED BIBLE

The original languages of the Bible are Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek.

Most of the Old Testament was composed in Hebrew. The Hebrew language has but two tenses, and an action is viewed as incomplete or complete. By means of seven stems, the quality of an action may be more precisely defined. Hebrew is very unlike English.

The Greek language is an exceedingly differentiated one. The Greek verb has hundreds of possible forms. The present tense may have more than half a dozen varieties of meaning. The infinitive is capable of a decade of uses, while there are three types of participle with some eight different functions for the adverbial participle. When cases and figures of speech are brought into the situation, it must be obvious that the translator of the Greek Old Testament and New Testament will have plenty of trials and temptations. Formerly the New Testament Greek was approached by way of the classical Greek. The modern scholar realizes that the New Testament Greek is the popular *koine*. Many words of the New Testament vocabulary that used to be re-

garded as unique have been met with in papyri and inscriptions originating before the beginning of the Christian era. "Anathema," "chief shepherd," "gospel," "parousia" are not words coined by Christian writers.

A few sections of the Old Testament appear in Aramaic.[1] Jesus spoke Aramaic. The final "a" of words like abba, aceldama, Bethesda, Gabbatha, Golgotha, raca, tabitha, talitha, indicates the Aramaic. Combinations with "bar"—as Barabbas, Bartimæus, Barjona, Bartholomew—are Aramaic. Cephas, Mammonas, ephphatha, koum, eloi, lema, sabachthanei likewise belong to the Aramaic language of Palestine in the time of Jesus.[2] The Greek of the synoptic gospels represents a translation. Moreover, one of the documents used by the author of the gospel of Matthew was originally written in Aramaic. Just how much of the New Testament will ultimately be shown to be dependent upon or a translation from the Aramaic, it is precarious to predict.

In the time of Jesus the holy books of the Jews were written in the Hebrew and the Greek languages. Our Old Testament is based upon the Massoretic Text and the Greek translation of the original Hebrew. Our present Hebrew Old Testaments are pointed with vowels. In the period of Paul, the Hebrew text was largely consonantal. It is as if modern words were printed bg, mt, ht

1 Ezra 4:8-6:18, 7:12-26; Daniel 2:4-7, 28; Jeremiah 10:11; Genesis 31:47.
2 Mark 5:41, 7:34, 15:34.

for bag, beg, big, bog, bug, mat, met, mit, mot, mut, hat, het, hit, hot, hut. Old Hebrew was angular in form and had no vowels and no division of words or sentences.[3] By the beginning of the Christian era change in writing from the angular to the square form had been in part completed.[4] But the consonantal Hebrew text was not fixed until the time of Rabbi Akiba who wrought in the fourth decade of the second Christian century. At that period a fixed vowel pronunciation also appears.

As late as Jerome's age there exists no final system of indicating vowels. Vowel points were only gradually introduced, and the Massoretic system was completed between the seventh and the ninth centuries of the Christian era. The Hebrew Old Testaments in existence to-day contain this stereotyped consonantal and vocalized Massoretic text.

The Samaritan Pentateuch has some 6,000 variants from the Massoretic text. There are numerous differences between the Massoretic text and the Greek translation of the Old Testament in use in the time of Jesus. There are also variations within the Massoretic text. From data of this sort, it is concluded that the "Massoretic text is not identical with the original text of the biblical authors."

The oldest Hebrew manuscript in existence

3 Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible," III, p. 405; Matthew 5:18.
4 IV Ezra 14:42.

is dated A.D. 916. The commentators of the medieval age invented the division of the Bible into chapters. About A.D. 1244, chapters appear in the Latin Vulgate and thereafter in the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. Hebrew manuscripts of earliest date contain a verse division. The New Testament verse division was made rather precipitously by Robert Stephens and published in A.D. 1551.

The Greek translation of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint came into existence at Alexandria in the course of the third and later pre-Christian centuries and is of varied character.[5]

Within a few decades after the death of Jesus, the documents forming the New Testament began to appear. They were written in Greek. They were copied by hand. At first they were written upon papyrus. Papyrus was the principal material for New Testament manuscripts for several centuries. The papyrus period was followed by the parchment period which lasted about a millennium.[6] Paper was transmitted to the West by the Arabs. Known to the Greeks as early as the ninth century, it began to be employed for writing the New Testament upon about the thirteenth century and became more and more the principal

[5] Letter of Aristeas in Charles, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," II, 94-122.

[6] Deissmann, "Light from the Ancient East," pp. 20-41, relates the romance of papyrus.

material for the preservation of the New Testament in written and in printed form. There were numerous printed editions of the Latin and German Bible prior to 1500.

For some fifteen centuries the New Testament was transmitted by the human hand. That hand was not completely precise and perfect. For it depended upon an imperfect eye, ear, and memory. Hence, no completely perfect manuscript has come down to us. The very precise modern proofreading hardly detects all the slips of the printer.

Thus, the Bug Bible substituted bug for terror in Psalm 91:5; the Placemakers Bible, placemakers for peacemakers in Matthew 5:9; the Adulterous Bible omitted the negative; the He Bible, he for she in Ruth 3:15; the Idle Bible, idle for idol in Zechariah 11:17; the Murderers Bible, murderers for murmurers in Jude 16; the Printers Bible, printers for princes in Psalm 119:161; the To Remain Bible, to remain for a comma in Galatians 4:29; the Wifehater Bible, wife for life in Luke 14:26; the Vinegar Bible, vinegar for vineyard in Luke 20. The ancient scribe also confused words, repeated words, omitted words, misspelled words. Recall that the earliest scribes found no accents, breathings, word divisions, verse divisions, paragraph divisions, chapter divisions in their texts. A scribe who had just copied Matthew might easily repeat Matthew

when copying the corresponding passage in Mark. Thus, a great variety of readings came into existence.

The expansion of Christianity was accompanied by the need of the New Testament in the vernacular. Consequently, the Greek New Testament was translated into various languages, such as Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, Gothic.

And each version in turn underwent continuous modification. To cite but one illustration, the Latin Bible existed in several forms by the fourth century. Toward the end of the fourth century, Jerome produced the Vulgate by comparing extant versions and by referring to the Greek and he testifies to the woeful state of the Latin text in these words:

> "You urge me to revise the old Latin version, and, as it were, to sit in judgment on the copies of the scriptures which are now scattered throughout the whole world; and inasmuch as they differ from one another, you would have me decide which of them agree with the Greek original. . . . For, if we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us which; for there are almost as many forms of texts as there are copies. If, on the other hand, we are to glean the truth from a comparison of many, why not go back to the original

Greek and correct the mistakes introduced by inaccurate translators, and the blundering alterations of confident but ignorant critics, and, further, all that has been inserted or changed by copyists more asleep than awake? . . . But to avoid any great divergences from the Latin which we are accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint and while I have corrected only such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are."[7]

Augustine, likewise, is on record with

"And men who speak the Latin tongue . . . need two other languages for the knowledge of Scriptures, Hebrew and Greek, that they may have recourse to the original texts if the endless diversity of the Latin translators throw them into doubt. . . . For the translations of the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, but the Latin translations are out of all number. For in the early days of the faith every man who happened to get his hands upon a Greek manuscript, and who thought he had any knowledge, were it ever so little, of the two languages, ventured upon the work of translation."[8]

7 "Nicene Post Nicene Fathers," VI, 488.
8 Augustine, "On Christian Doctrine," II, 11:16, 15:22.

Thereupon, the Vulgate met the same fate of variation. The Old Latin readings insisted upon reappearing in the Vulgate manuscripts. Revisions of the Vulgate were undertaken during the reign of Charlemagne. The Vulgate was declared to be the standard text of the Bible by the council of Trent. In 1590, a Vulgate text was issued which was affirmed to be "true, legitimate, authentic, and indubitable." Two years later this "authentic" text was recalled and another text issued differing in some three thousand instances.

The period of the printed Greek New Testament began in 1514 when the Complutensian Greek New Testament was printed but not published. Erasmus has the honor of giving the first printed Greek New Testament to the world. That was in 1516. And for a year of years or until 1881 that type of Greek text was generally used. It was the basis of the Authorized Version. When we recall that Erasmus employed only several late Greek cursives, possessed no uncial manuscript, and was unfamiliar with the science of textual criticism, the Greek basis of the Authorized Version is seen to be rather insecure.

Translations whether exact and literal or free and interpretative cannot perfectly reproduce the genius of the original language. Every language has words and ideas altogether its own. The English "penny" is not the American "cent." The German "thaler" is not the American "dollar." "Kodak" has no etymological significance. Just

what is the German word for pie? Is "liberty cabbage" an equivalent for "sauerkraut"? Does "flirt" do for "coquette"? What is the Latin for post-office? "Over the top" has a dozen meanings. "Baltic seal," "bay seal," "French seal," "Hudson seal," "near seal," "northern seal" and "Laskin seal" are merely trade names for dyed rabbit. "White Siberian bear" represents the Chinese goat. How would you render Presbyterian or Methodist into Chinese? Would not "cockroaches and molasses" have to do for locusts and wild honey, if you were making the sermon of John the Baptizer intelligible to South Sea islanders? "Virgin" in the Bible may mean daughter of Zion, spiritual bride, or celibate man in addition to young bride and virgin. "Son of God" may have physical, ethical, metaphysical, or theocratic significance. "Just" may have forensic or ethical value. All the words and ideas of one language are not interchangeable with those of another. No translation can reproduce all the peculiarities of the original language.

The value of a translation depends upon the condition of the text used as basis. If a text which has wandered far away from that of the original author is the basis, the most careful translator would probably be guilty of the greatest number of mistranslations. The competency and the accuracy of the translator also count heavily in the work of translation. In case of the New Testament, no one manuscript represents

the original text. Some reconstruction of text must be attempted, and hypotheses regarding the methods to be employed are by no means completely demonstrated. Erasmus described his manuscripts to be of such antiquity that they might have been written in the period of the apostles. To-day we know that Erasmus did his work "headlong," that his first edition was a precipitate, that he had only a few late cursive manuscripts at his disposal, that where his Greek copy failed him in case of the apocalypse, he simply translated Latin into Greek, that he used his best manuscript but rarely. In his third edition, Erasmus introduced a verse which he had conscientiously refused to print in his earlier editions and for which to this day no support can be found in a single independent Greek manuscript.[9] Moreover, the textus receptus of England differs from that of the continent in over 250 instances. The eighth edition of Tischendorf varies from the seventh edition by more than 3,500 instances. It was said of John Mill, the master textual critic of England of Bentley's time, that his New Testament noted 30,000 variations in the manuscripts of the New Testament.[10] John Burgon, the conservative opponent of the Westcott-Hort school, is responsible for the count that the manuscript Alexandrinus deviates 842 times from the textus receptus; the manuscript

9 I John 5 : 7, Authorized Version.
10 Compare "Mormon Bible," p. 1 and "Science and Health," p. 139.

Ephræm, 1,798 times; the manuscript Vaticanus, 2,370 times; the manuscript Sinaiticus, 3,392 times; the manuscript Beza, 4,697 times. Indeed, we have over 4,000 Greek papyri, uncials, cursives, lectionaries, and no two of them are in perfect agreement. It is safe to say that no company of intelligent divines would to-day assert the purity of the existing Hebrew and Greek text.

As long as words change their meaning with the lapse of time, as long as biblical scholarship continues to throw more light upon every page of the Old Testament and the New Testament, and as long as our knowledge of the development of the text of the Bible goes on increasing, new translations will be necessary. Rival did not at first signify competitor. Host has meant stranger, enemy, inn-keeper, landlord, army, and the wafer of the eucharist. Ghost has varied in meaning from gust of wind and shadow to disembodied spirit and third person of the Christian trinity. Who recalls that Liverpool meant flowing pool, that Oxford and Bosphorus may be equated, that the American dollar sign originated in the Holy Roman Empire in the period of Charles V, that pagan originally stood for civilian in contrast to the Roman soldier? Atonement at first was the equivalent of reconciliation; at present, it conveys the meaning of propitiation or expiation. When the University of Michigan was founded in 1837, it was known as a Catholepiste-

miad; its professors were didactors; some of its departments were Didaxia Anthropoglossica, Didaxia physiognostica, Didaxia Iatuca, Didaxia Polemitactica, Didaxia Ennœica. Seven years has meant several years. The English of the Authorized Version, 1611, is very different from that current in the age of Wyclif. A century and one-half are often sufficient to produce tremendous changes in language. Take these illustrations from the Wyclif Bible—there are no misspellings. "If Y speke with tungis of men and aungels and Y haue not charite Y am maad as bras sowynge or a cymbal tynkyge. Forsothe God so louede the world that he gaf his oon bigetun sone, that ech man that belieueth unto him perische not but haue euere lasting lyf. Joon 15, Y am a verey vyn and my fader." Jaw is chaul, cheek-boon, or cheeklap; kosses are kisses; condemn is dampne; relative is a necessary; stomach is mawe; males are mawlis; host is oost; chapter is capitle; marrow is mary. College dialects require a special dictionary. Chicago stockyard colloquialisms are unintelligible to the London cockney and scholar as well. The history of a word is as meaningful as the original significance of a word. Semasiology and etymology are twins.

Every new translation is received with objection and anathema and later becomes enshrined in the hearts of all. Jerome's version was terribly criticized; it became the basis of the Roman Catholic version. The Authorized Version was

fiercely opposed; to-day it is revered. Spurgeon called the Revised Version a "blunder Bible." During the half-century that has passed since the revisers entered upon their arduous task, it has demonstrated its superiority to the Authorized Version.

Take the matter of proper names. The Authorized Version bewilders with its Abia, Achaz, Aggeus, Booz, Cáinan, Chanaan, Charran, Core, Cretes, Elias, Eliseus, Esaie, Esaias, Esay, Ezekias, Hoshea, Oseos, Osee, Grecia, Noe, Zion, Sion, Sinai, Sina, Mathusala and a host of others.

Many readers of the Authorized Version are of the opinion that the notes at the end of Paul's letters are original. Of course they are not.

> Written to the Romans from Corinthus, *and sent* by Phebe servant of the church at Cenchrea.
>
> The first *epistle* to the Corinthians was written from Philippi by Stephanas, and Fortunatus, and Achaicus, and Timotheus.
>
> The first to Timothy was written from Laodicea, which is the chiefest city of Phrygia Pacatiana.
>
> It was written to Titus, ordained the first bishop of the church of the Cretians, from Nicopolis of Macedonia.

The Greek text underlying the Authorized Version differs in thousands of instances from the reconstructed Greek text of the Revised Version. And the Authorized Version fails to give absolutely necessary information regarding variant readings of the manuscripts. A comparative study of the two versions in regard to John 1:18,

5:1, 3, 7:53 ff.; Acts 8:37, 11:20; Ephesians 1:1; Mark 16:9-20 will indicate what an amount of important material is contained in the footnotes of the Revised Version. One of the most significant disagreements between the Authorized Version and Revised Version does not even appear in a footnote of the Revised Version. It is in no way noticed. Quite properly, since no independent Greek manuscript contains it. The reference is, of course, to I John 5:7 of the Authorized Version.[11]

Moreover, the Authorized Version had authorized the Revision in that it itself had been undergoing modification from almost the moment of its appearance. The 1630 edition of the Authorized Version, under the title, "names and order of all the Bookes of the Olde and New Testaments, with number of their chapters" lists in succession the books of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and New Testament. It prints the Apocrypha between the Old Testament and the New Testament. It contains references to apocryphal books, for example at Hebrews 1:3, Wisdom 7:26, since suppressed. It has marginal references that have disappeared. It contains words like "almes," "ambassadours," "battel," "beleeve," "carnall," "flie," "keyes," "shooes," "Sathan," "sinne," "sonne," "wee," whose

11 For the interesting story of how a verse without the support of a single independent Greek manuscript could be admitted to the A.V., see *Rochester Record*, November, 1914, pp. 4-14. The Moffatt New Testament plainly indicates the omission by refusing to rearrange the verses.

spelling was later revised. Are these verses printed in this way in modern editions of the Authorized Version?

> "And after those dayes, we tooke up our cariages and went up to Hierusalem.
> And Jesus himselfe began to bee about thirty yeeres of age, being (as was sopposed) the sonne of Joseph."

The best test of the superiority of some of the more recent translations of the Bible is furnished by a comparison of selected passages from the Authorized Version and the Moffatt translation.

Authorized Version	*Moffatt Translation*
GENESIS 18:1	
And the Lord appeared unto him in the *plains of Mamre:* and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day;	As he sat at the door of his tent at noon, the Eternal appeared to him beside the *Mamre-oaks.*
GENESIS 33:18	
And Jacob came to *Shalem, a city of Shechem,* which *is* in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padanaram; and pitched his tent before the city.	When Jacob came from Padan-aram he arrived *safe and sound at the town of Shechem* in the land of Canaan, camping to the east of the town.
EXODUS 11:2	
Speak now in the ears of the people, and let every man *borrow* of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold.	So make it known to the people that every man is to *ask* his neighbour, and every woman to *ask* her neighbour, for jewels of silver and jewels of gold."

Authorized Version	*Moffatt Translation*

Exodus 15:14

Sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestine.	Nations heard of it and trembled, *pangs* seized on Philistia's folk,

Deuteronomy 18:10

There shall not be found among you *any one* that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, *or* that useth divination, *or* an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch.	There must be none among you who burns his son or his daughter alive, or who practises divination or soothsaying, no augur, no sorcerer, no one who weaves spells, no medium or magician, no necromancer.

Job 22:30

He shall deliver the island of the innocent: and it is delivered by the pureness of thine hands.	he saves those who are guiltless, rescuing them for their unspotted record."

Job 40:23

Behold, he drinketh up a river, *and* hasteth not: he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth.	He never trembles, though the torrent rages; he is unmoved amid the swollen streams.

Psalm 9:17

The wicked shall be turned into hell, *and* all the nations that forget God.	The ungodly must go back to death, all pagans who are forgetful of God;

Psalm 37:3

Trust in the Lord, and do good; *so* shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.	Trust in the Eternal and do right, be loyal to him within his land;

Authorized Version *Moffatt Translation*

ECCLESIASTES 12: 5-7

Also *when* they shall be afraid of *that which* is high, and fears *shall be* in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets: Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.

when old age fears a height,
and even a walk has its terrors,
when his hair is almond white,
and he drags his limbs along,
and the spirit flags and fades.
So man goes to his long, long home,
and mourners pass along the street,
on the day when the silver cord is snapped,
and the golden lamp drops broken,
when the pitcher breaks at the fountain,
the wheel breaks at the cistern,
when the dust returns to earth once more,
and the spirit to God who gave it.

MATTHEW 16: 13

When Jesus came into the coasts of Cesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?

Now when Jesus came to the district of Cæsarea Philippi he asked his disciples, "Who do people say the Son of man is?"

MATTHEW 23: 24

Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

Blind guides that you are, filtering away the gnat and swallowing the camel!

Authorized Version	*Moffatt Translation*

MARK 12:26

And as touching the dead, that they rise; have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying I *am* the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?	As for the dead being raised, have you not read in the book of Moses, at the passage on the Bush, how God said to him, *I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob?*

MARK 12:44

For all *they* did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, *even* all her living.	for they have all put in a contribution out of their surplus, but she has given out of her neediness all she possessed, her whole living."

MARK 14:64

Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death.	You have heard his blasphemy for yourselves. What is your mind?" They condemned him, all of them, to the doom of death;

LUKE 1:59

And it came to pass, that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child; and they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father.	on the eighth day came to circumcise the child. They were going to call it by the name of its father Zechariah,

LUKE 1:63

And he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying His name is John. And they marveled all.	and he asked for a writing-tablet and wrote down, "His name is John," to the astonishment of all.

Authorized Version	*Moffatt Translation*
Luke 2:33	
And Joseph and his mother marveled at those things which were spoken of him.	His father and mother were astonished at these words about him,
Luke 3:23	
And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age.	At the outset, Jesus was about thirty years of age.
Luke 21:19	
In your patience possess ye your souls.	Hold out stedfast and you win your souls.
John 10:16	
And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, *and* one shepherd.	I have other sheep, too, which do not belong to this fold; I must bring them also, and they will listen to my voice; so it will be one flock, one shepherd.
John 19:13	
When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha.	On hearing this, Pilate brought Jesus out and seated him on the tribunal at a spot called the 'mosaic pavement' —the Hebrew name is Gabbatha.
Acts 12:4	
intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people.	with the intention of producing him to the People after the passover.

Authorized Version *Moffatt Translation*

Acts 13:7

Which was with the deputy of the country, Sergius Paulus, a prudent man; who called for Barnabas and Saul, and desired to hear the word of God.

Bar-Jesus; he belonged to the suite of the proconsul Sergius Paulus, an intelligent man who called for Barnabas and Saul and demanded to hear the word of God.

Acts 17: 22

Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' Hill, and said, *Ye* men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.

So Paul stood in the middle of the Areopagus and said, "Men of Athens, I observe at every turn that you are a most religious people.

Acts 19:2

He said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.

whom he asked, "Did you receive the holy Spirit when you believed?" "No," they said, "we never even heard of its existence."

Acts 21:15

And after those days we took up our carriages, and went up to Jerusalem.

After these days we packed up and started for Jerusalem,

Acts 26:28

Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.

"At this rate," Agrippa remarked, "it won't be long before you believe you have made a Christian of me!"

Authorized Version	*Moffatt Translation*
Acts 28:13	
And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day the south wind blew, and we came the next day to Puteoli;	Then tacking round we reached Rhegium; next day a south wind sprang up which brought us in a day to Puteoli.
Galatians 6:11	
Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.	See what big letters I make, when I write you in my own hand!
I Corinthians 11:29	
For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.	For he who eats and drinks without a proper sense of the Body, eats and drinks to his own condemnation.
I Corinthians 13:4	
Charity suffereth long, *and is* kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.	Love is very patient, very kind. Love knows no jealousy; love makes no parade, gives itself no airs.
I Corinthians 15:55	
O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?	*O Death, where is your victory?* *O Death, where is your sting?*
I Thessalonians 5:22	
Abstain from all appearances of evil.	never disdain prophetic revelations but test them all, retaining what is good and *abstaining from whatever* kind *is evil.*

Authorized Version	*Moffatt Translation*

II Thessalonians 2:7, 8

For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth *will let,* until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:	For the secret force of lawlessness is at work already; only, it cannot be revealed till he who at present restrains it is removed. Then shall the Lawless One be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus *will destroy with the breath of his lips* and quell by his appearing and arrival—

James 5:9

Grudge not one against another.	Do not murmur against one another.

Jude 19

These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit.	These are the people who set up divisions and distinctions, sensuous creatures, destitute of the Spirit.

Revelation 2:13

I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, *even* where Satan's seat *is:* and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr,	I know where you dwell, where Satan sits enthroned, and yet you adhere to my Name, you have not renounced your faith in me even during the days when my witness, my faithful Antipas, was martyred in your midst—where Satan dwells.

Revelation 4:6

And before the throne *there was* a sea of glass like unto	also in front of the throne there is like a sea of glass,

Authorized Version	*Moffatt Translation*
crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, *were* four beasts full of eyes before and behind.	*resembling crystal. And on each side of the throne, all round it, four living Creatures full of eyes* inside and outside;

What, then, is the significance of the translated Bible? Back of any recent English Bible lies the long and complicated story of English translations from the Moffatt Translation to Aldhelm. "In the whole of Tyndale's New Testament, the number of words that do not occur in the Authorized Version is probably below 350, many of which are used once or twice only; of his work as a whole, our Bibles are said to retain at the present day about eighty per cent in the Old Testament and ninety per cent in the New Testament." [12] But one of the sources of Tyndale was Luther's Bible.

> "Tyndale in translating his Pentateuch, kept constantly before him the Hebrew text and Luther's version, with the LXX and Vulgate within easy reach, and fragments of the Middle English archaisms running through his mind as he worked; that he probably made his first draft from the German, checking it constantly by the Hebrew, and departing from it in nearly every case, where he detected Luther in an evasion." [13]

12 Hastings, "Dictionary of the Bible," IV, 856.
13 J. R. Slater, "The Sources of Tyndale's Version of the Penta-

And beyond all these interrelations are the Latin Vulgate and the Greek texts ever in process of change. For by the middle of the second century the Christian church was already in possession of two distinct types of Greek text. Do not minimize the interaction between the Greek and the Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic and other versions. But before the various writings that make up the Bible received the protection of canonization, they were subject to textual vicissitude. And one must still consider the time which elapsed ere any prophet's oral statements took written form. No English Bible contains the *ipsissima verba* of the original author, not to raise the more ultimate questions. If, for example, the Hebrew text was not still fluid when the Greek translation was made, how may its departures from the Hebrew be explained? Finally, should "imaginary Bibles be set up as tests of orthodoxy"?[14] The translated Bible and the impossibility of recovering the original manuscripts of either the Old Testament or the New Testament as well as the improbability that any completely satisfactory reconstructed text can be produced should warn literalistic modern Christians to build a deeper foundation for their faith than that of verbal inspiration.

touch." See article by J. V. Madison in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1925, pp. 261-288 for complete enumeration of English versions of New Testament.

14 Mode, "Source-Book of American Church History," pp. 660-662.

CHAPTER IV

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND THE BIBLE

From a popular, authorized tract regarding the attitude of Roman Catholicism toward the Bible, the following quotations are derived.

"The Bible does not give any systematic, complete and exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of Christ. In many respects it is like a stenographer's notebook, partial and fragmentary, to be supplemented later on in more elaborate detail by other agencies.

"Christ never wrote a word of the Bible. One might naturally expect Him to have set the example by writing at least some portions of the Bible if he intended his followers to take their entire religion from it.

"Christ never ordered His Apostles to write any part of the Bible. We might well expect such a command from Him if he desired the members of His Church to have recourse to the Bible for their religion.

"Christ never ordered His Apostles and disciples to circulate the Old Testament. It is not unreasonable to suppose Christ would have done this, had He wished His followers

to make the circulation of the Bible the only means of knowing His doctrines.

"Christ could not have intended that the world should take its religion from the Bible, since so many millions of the human race today, to say nothing of past ages, cannot read or write.

"Nor could Christ have intended His religion to be derived exclusively from a Book, when even learned men dispute about its important passages. Learning and erudition and holiness are no guarantee of a proper interpretation of the Bible.

"The Catholic Church has always stood by the Bible. It is the only institution in the world that believes the Bible, and the whole Bible, to be the divinely inspired Word of God.

"The Catholic Church refuses to treat the Word of God as a mere human document, or to disrespectfully criticize it as one would criticize the remarks of an irresponsible newspaper man.

"The Bible is the Word of God only when it is interpreted as God means it to be interpreted. To give a different meaning to the words than God intended they should have is to make it cease to be God's Word at all. For this reason, the Catholic Church, which produced the Bible, is the only genuinely authorized interpreter of God's Word.

"The Catholic Church got along without the Bible for nearly 400 years; it could get along again, even if every book of the Bible were suddenly blotted out from the entire world.

"Christ constantly told His Apostles to PREACH and to TEACH. So also, St. Paul tells us that faith comes, by HEARING. Observe he does not say by writing, or by reading the Bible.

"The Bible was not always a splendidly bound volume such as we buy to-day in book stores. It was originally written on separate parchment leaves.

"These parchment leaves were scattered over a great portion of Europe and Asia. They were not all collected and definitely and for all time fixed as the Bible until the Church decided what was and what was not the genuine Word of God.

"Thus, for some generations after Christ, there was no Bible as we have it now. This is another proof that Christ founded the Catholic Church to be His representative on earth.

"Hence any Church which claims to be founded exclusively on the Bible, and to teach only the things that are in the Bible, and to reject things not found in the Bible, proves its own undoing, for it thereby admits that it could have no existence for nearly

400 years after Christ, and therefore is no Christian Church."[1]

The Council of Trent adopted a decree concerning the canonical scriptures. It contained this enumeration of sacred books.

"And it has thought it meet that a list of sacred books be inserted in the decree, lest a doubt may arise in any one's mind, which are the books that are received by this Synod. They are as set down here below: of the Old Testament: the five books of Moses, to wit, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, the first book of Esdras, and the second which is entitled Nehemias; Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, the Davidical Psalter, consisting of a hundred and fifty psalms; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias, with Baruch; Ezechiel, Daniel; the twelve minor prophets, to wit, Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michaes, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachias; two books of the Machabees, the first and the second. Of the New Testament: the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John;

[1] Thomas F. Coakley, "Inside Facts About the Catholic Church," pp. 21 ff.

the Acts of the Apostles written by Luke the Evangelist; fourteen epistles of Paul the apostle, (one) to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, (one) to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, (one) to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two of Peter the apostle, three of John the apostle, one of the apostle James, one of Jude the apostle, and the Apocalypse of John the apostle." [2]

Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, I and II Maccabees are constituent elements of the Roman Catholic Bible. These same books are not printed in modern Protestant Bibles and are designated Apocrypha.

To appreciate this divergence of opinion, consider a few Christian lists of Old Testament books.

Three of these lists precede the Protestant Reformation and two are subsequent to that lasting cleavage of Christianity. Prior to the Reformation, the lists do not discriminate between canonical and apocryphal books. Judith and Tobit precede the prophets. Ecclesiasticus seems to belong to the Old Testament quite as much as Isaiah does. After the epoch of Luther, the apocrypha are gathered into a separate section. Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era

2 Fourth Session April 8, 1546; Schaff, "Creeds," II, 79 ff.

Codex Vaticanus *4th Century*	*Codex Alexandrinus* *5th century*	*Wyclif* *14th century*	*Coverdale* *16th century*	*Authorized Version* *17th century*
Genesis	Genesis	Genesis	BOOKS OF THE FIRST PART	Genesis
Exodus	Exodus	Exodus	Genesis	Exodus
Leviticus	Leviticus	Leviticus	Exodus	Leviticus
Numbers	Numbers	Numbers	Leviticus	Numbers
Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Numbers	Deuteronomy
Joshua	Joshua	Joshua	Deuteronomy	Joshua
Judges	Judges	Judges		Judges
Ruth	Ruth	Ruth		Ruth
I-IV Kings	I-IV Kings	I-IV Kings	BOOKS OF THE SECOND PART	I II Samuel
I II Paralipomenon	I II Paralipomenon	I II Paralipomenon	Joshua	I II Kings
I II Esdras	Hosea	I II III Esdras	Judges	I II Chronicles
Psalms	Amos	Tobit	Ruth	Ezra
Proverbs	Micah	Judith	I-IV Kings	Nehemiah
Ecclesiastes	Joel	Esther	I II Paralipomenon	Esther
Song of Songs	Obadiah	Job	I II Esdras	Job
Job	Jonas	Psalms	Esther	Psalms
Wisdom of	Nahum			Proverbs
	Habakkuk			Ecclesiastes

Codex Vaticanus 4th century	*Codex Alexandrinus 5th century*	*Wyclif 14th century*	*Coverdale 16th century*	*Authorized Version 17th century*
Solomon	Zephaniah	Proverbs	Job	Song of Solomon
Wisdom of Sirach	Haggai	Ecclesiastes	Psalter	Isaiah
Esther	Zechariah	Song of Solomon	Proverbs	Jeremiah
Judith	Malachi	Wisdom of Solomon	Ecclesiastes	Lamentations
Tobit	Isaiah	Ecclesiasticus	Canticles	Ezekiel
Hosea	Jeremiah and additions	Isaiah	THE PROPHETS	Daniel
Amos	Ezekiel	Jeremiah	Isaiah	Hosea
Micah	Daniel and additions	Lamentations	Jeremiah	Joel
Joel	Esther and additions	Baruch	Lamentations	Amos
Obadiah	Tobit	Ezekiel	Baruch	Obadiah
Jonah	Judith	Daniel	Ezekiel	Jonah
Nahum	I Esdras	Hosea	Daniel	Micah
Habakkuk	II Esdras	Joel	Hosea	Nahum
Zephaniah	I-IV Maccabees	Amos	Joel	Habakkuk
Haggai	Psalms	Obadiah	Amos	Zephaniah
Zechariah		Jonah	Obadiah	Haggai
Malachi			Jonas	Zechariah
				Malachi

Codex Vaticanus 4th century	*Codex Alexandrinus 5th century*	*Wyclif 14th century*	*Coverdale 16th century*	*Authorized Version 17th century*
Isaiah	Job	Micah	Micah	BOOKS CALLED APOCRYPHA
Jeremiah	Proverbs	Nahum	Nahum	I II Esdras
Baruch	Ecclesiastes	Habakkuk	Habakkuk	Tobit
Lamentations	Song of Solomon	Zephaniah	Zephaniah	Judith
Epistle of Jeremiah	Wisdom of Solomon	Haggai	Haggai	Rest of Esther
Ezekiel	Wisdom of Jesus Sirach	Zechariah	Zechariah	Wisdom
Daniel		Malachi	Malachi	Ecclesiasticus
		I II Maccabees	THE APOCRYPHA	Baruch with Epistle of Jeremiah
			III IV Esdras	Song of Three Children
			Tobit	Story of Susannah
			Judith	Bel and Dragon
			Wisdom	Prayer of Manasseh
			Ecclesiasticus	I II Maccabees
			Susannah	
			Bel	
			I II Maccabees	

possessed two Bibles. One was in Hebrew and was used by Palestinian Jews. It contained the thirty-nine books of the Protestant Bible. The other was in Greek and was used by Alexandrian Judaism and by the Jews of the diaspora. It contained additional books, such as Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, I and II Maccabees.

As long as the Christian church used the Septuagint for its Old Testament text, the question of canonical and apocryphal could hardly arise. For the apocrypha were incorporated in the Septuagint.[3] But under the pressure of dissenting Christian groups and the attacks of the synagogue based upon the Hebrew Old Testament text, the church was obliged to consider the value of the Hebrew text. Yet the Christian church has no consistent tradition regarding the apocrypha. Some fathers accepted while others disapproved of the employment of the apocrypha as scripture. The Council of Carthage at the close of the fourth century included some apocryphal books in its authorized list. Augustine regarded Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, I and II Maccabees as scripture. Jerome helped exalt the smaller, Palestinian, Hebrew Old Testament.[4] The dogmas of the church rested upon such books as II Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus. In his debate with Eck and his controversy with Erasmus several years later, Luther found apocryphal proof

3 Daubney, "The Apocrypha in the Christian Church," p. 28.
4 Idem, p. 9.

texts quoted against him.[5] Although Luther poured high praise upon Judith, terming it a "good, holy, and useful book well worthy to be read by us Christians; for the words which the characters in the story speak are to be understood as the words of a secret poet or prophet by the aid of the Holy Ghost," translated the Prayer of Manasses and recommended it for confessional purposes, and esteemed the Apocrypha in general as books "profitable and good to read," he separated Tobit, Judith, Baruch, Ezra, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the books of the Maccabees from the rest of the Old Testament books.[6] Luther's verdict upon these books was decisive. The Dutch Bible of 1526, largely following Luther's translation, separated the apocryphal from the canonical books. The Zürich Bible of 1530 placed the apocryphal books at the end of the New Testament. In 1534 convocation petitioned Henry VIII to decree that the "Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men to be nominated by the king." It so happened that Coverdale's first edition rendered "out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe" was about ready for circulation at just that time. This Bible transmitted the Lutheran view of the Apocrypha to the Anglican church. It was the

5 Points involved were propitiation for the sins of the dead (II Maccabees 12 : 45) and the freedom of the will (Ecclesiasticus 15 : 12-20).

6 Yet Lutheran Bibles did not go so far as not to print the Apocrypha.

first English Bible to separate the Apocrypha from the remaining books of the Old Testament.

The Protestant decision has gone against the Apocrypha as far as their canonical employment is concerned. The Westminster Confession of Faith states very explicitly:

> "The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other *human writings.*"

The British and Foreign Bible Society finally condemned the Apocrypha to oblivion by failing to print them and describing them as "unhallowed productions of the wisdom and folly of men that have been so presumptuously associated with the sacred oracles of God."

Was the Protestant verdict due to the dogmatic use of the Apocrypha by the Roman Catholic church? The student of the Bible would do well to read the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus, compare their religious value with that of Leviticus or Esther and answer the question whether his attitude toward a religious composition is conditioned by content or by its appearance in an authorized list. Another interesting point is whether the appearance of Tobit in the

canonical list would necessitate "belief" in its magic, whether the presence of Judith in that list would involve approval of Judith's assassination of Holofernes.

The separately printed Apocrypha of the Revised Version follow.

I ESDRAS

Known as III Esdras in the Roman Catholic Bible. Not in the Douay Roman Catholic version, but found in the appendix to the official edition of the Vulgate.[7] Employed by Josephus. Covers the period from Josiah to Ezra. Chapters 3:1-5:6 unique. Its date may be first century before Christ. The original was in the Hebrew or Aramaic language.

> "All the data suggest that I Esdras and Ezra and Nehemiah represent concurrent forms which have influenced each other in the earlier stages of their growth. They are rivals, and neither can be said to be wholly older or more historical than the other. The endeavor was made to correct I Esdras to agree with the Massoretic text . . . and the presence of such efforts and in particular of the doublets are of essential importance in indicating that I Esdras text does not precisely represent a Hebrew-Aramaic work, and that when all allowance is made for correction and revision of the Greek, problems of the underlying original text still remain. But it was impossible to make any very satisfactory adjustment. I Esdras diverged too seriously from the Massoretic, which had cut the chronological knot by the excision of the story of Zerubbabel, and we may suppose that

7 Van Ess II, 597.

this facilitated the desire for the more literal translation of Theodotion." [8]

II ESDRAS

Known as IV Esdras in the Roman Catholic Bible. It is not in the Douay version, but is found in the appendix to the official edition of the Vulgate.[9] Semi-canonical previous to the Council of Trent. Its date is late first century of the Christian era.[10] A Jewish apocalypse. Chapter 7:26-29 describes the natural death of the Messiah after a reign of 400 years. A splendidly pessimistic passage is chapter 7:46 ff. "The Man from the Sea" vision of chapter 13 is a good illustration of apocalyptic art. It was written in Hebrew. Its wide use is witnessed to by its translation into Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Arabic.

TOBIT

This survival of Jewish folk-lore is found in the Douay version after Nehemiah. It is a devotional narrative of the blinding of Tobit in Nineveh, the journey of his son Tobias under the protection of the angel Raphael to Ecbatana, his return, and the healing of the father's blindness. It makes use of the Egyptian Fable of the Ungrateful Dead, the Tractate of Khons, and Ahikar. Its

8 Charles, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," I, 19.
9 Van Ess, II, 615 ff.
10 11:35, 12:2, 28.

date is the second pre-Christian century.[11] Important for its angelology, demonology, and magic.[12]

JUDITH

Judith appears in the Douay version after Tobit. The story of a Jewish heroine who slew the general of a besieging army and saved her people.[13] Its point of view is that of strict, orthodox Judaism.[14] Judith is not historical but rather historical fiction with religious purpose.[15] Its date is second century before Christ and original language Hebrew.

THE REST OF ESTHER

Appears in the Douay version as Esther 10:44-16:24. Expansion of Esther. Date of these additions about first century before Christ. The original language was Greek.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

Appears in the Douay version after Canticles. It consists of two parts: 1:1-9:18, assigned to latter portion of the first century before Christ and 10:1-19:22, assigned to 30 B.C.-10 A.D.

11 14:4-6, 6:12, 7:13, 5:14, 2:12, 4:1, 13:3, 6, 7-18.
12 Read especially 6:2-9, 7:15-8:9, 11:1-18, 12:6 ff.
13 Chapter 13:1-15.
14 Chapter 8:5, 6, 11:10, 16:16, 19.
15 Chapter 1:1, 7, 14, 3:10, 4:6, 5:18, 19, 6:10. Bethulia=Shechem; Nebuchadrezzar=Antiochus Epiphanes; Assyrians=Syrians.

The original language was Greek. It contains a panegyric on Wisdom.[16] It is deeply indebted to Græco-Roman thought.[17] It is noted for its view of immortality.[18]

ECCLESIASTICUS

Appears in the Douay version after the Wisdom of Solomon. Of late large fragments of the Hebrew text, lost since the eleventh century, have been recovered. It was written in the neighborhood of 180 B.C.[19] The author's name appears.[20] It was translated into Greek, Syriac, Latin, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Slavonic, Arabic. Read 17 : 27, 28, 39 : 9, 41 : 2, 11-13 for the author's view of the future life; 25 : 24 for the origin of sin; 21 : 27 f. for man's responsibility, 44-50 for a summary of the history of Judaism from the nationalist point of view. The prologue is historically important for its references to the threefold Jewish canon.

BARUCH WITH THE EPISTLE OF JEREMIAH

In the Douay version, Baruch appears after Lamentations and the Epistle of Jeremiah as addition to Jeremiah 29. Baruch is dated as follows: 1 : 15-3 : 8, second century before Christ;

16 6 : 1-9 : 18.
17 1 : 7, 7 : 22, 24, 8 : 7, 18 ff., 9 : 15, 13 : 1.
18 1 : 15, 2 : 23-3 : 6, 4 : 1, 7, 5 : 15, 8 : 13, 17, 15 : 3.
19 Prologue and 50 : 1 ff.
20 50 : 27.

3:9-4:4, first century of the Christian era; 4:5-5, also first Christian century. Epistle of Jeremiah was originally in Hebrew and was written in the early part of the second pre-Christian century as a polemic against idolatry.

ADDITIONS TO DANIEL

The Song of the Three Holy Children appears in the Douay version as Daniel 3:24-3:90. Its date is second pre-Christian century.

The History of Susanna appears in the Douay version as Daniel 13. Its date is the first pre-Christian century. It relates how Daniel saved a Jewish maiden, falsely accused of adultery, from the death penalty by a separate examination of the false witnesses.

Bel and the Dragon appears in the Douay version as Daniel 13:65-14:42. Its date is the first pre-Christian century. Daniel in the one case demonstrates the absurdity of idolatry and in the other destroys the dragon.

PRAYER OF MANASSES

The pre-Trentine Vulgate contained this prayer after Chronicles. The "Clementine" Vulgate has it in the Appendix.[21] It is an expansion of II Chronicles 33:11-13. It was preserved in the Christian Didascalia. The Prayer of Manasses is possibly of the first Christian century.

21 Van Ess, II, 596.

I MACCABEES

This very dependable narrative of the Maccabean struggle appears in the Douay version after Malachi. It is a Jewish version of events in Palestine between 175-135 B.C. It was originally written in Hebrew. Its date is late second pre-Christian century. It is the best source on the Maccabean revolution. It may be outlined as follows: "1:1-19, From Alexander the Great to Antiochus IV; 1:20-1:64, Events preceding the Maccabean revolution, B.C. 175-168; 2:1-70, Beginnings of the Maccabean revolution, B.C. 167; 3:1-9:22, Campaigns of Judas the Maccabee, B.C. 167-161; 9:23-12:53, Leadership and high priesthood of Jonathan, B.C. 161-143; 13:1-16:24, Administration of Simon as ethnarch and high-priest, B.C. 143-135." The religious struggle was over by B.C. 162; the political struggle continued to B.C. 143.

II MACCABEES

This interpretative story of the Maccabean struggle appears in the Douay version after I Maccabees. Its relation to I Maccabees is similar to that of Chronicles to Kings. It brings the history down to the death of Judas. It is based upon the narrative of Jason of Cyrene. It was written in the first century before Christ.

Its religious views were of considerable importance to Roman Catholic dogma.[22]

There are many texts of the Bible in many languages. But the living voice of the church guarantees infallibly the authenticity of the Latin Vulgate. For thus the Council of Trent declared.

> "Moreover, the same sacred and holy Synod,—considering that no small utility may accrue to the Church of God, if it be made known which out of all the Latin editions, now in circulation, of the sacred books, is to be held as authentic,—ordains and declares, that the said old and vulgate editions, which, by the lengthened usage of so many ages, has been approved of in the Church, be, in public lectures, disputations, sermons, and expositions, held as authentic; and that no one is to dare, or presume to reject it under any pretext whatever."

Roman Catholicism is very particular regarding the interpretation of the Bible. Both the Council of Trent and the Vatican Council carefully formulated its policy in this regard.

> "Furthermore, in order to restrain petulant spirits, it decrees, that no one relying on his own skill, shall,—in matters of faith, and of morals pertaining to the edification of

22 7 : 33-38, 12 : 43, 45, 15 : 11-16, 7 : 11, 23, 29 f., 14 : 46.

Christian doctrine,—wresting the sacred Scripture to his own senses, presume to interpret the said sacred Scripture contrary to the sense which holy mother Church,—whose it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures,—hath held and doth hold; or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers; even though such interpretations were never to be at any time published. Contraveners shall be made known by their Ordinaries and be published with the penalties by law established.

"And as the things which the holy Synod of Trent decreed for the good of souls concerning the interpretation of Divine Scripture in order to curb rebellious spirits, have been wrongly explained by some, we, renewing the said decree declare this to be their sense, that in matters of faith and morals, appertaining to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be held as the true sense of Holy Scripture which our holy Mother Church hath held and holds, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scripture; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret the Sacred Scripture contrary to this sense, nor, likewise, contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers." [22a]

22a Schaff, "Creeds of Christendom," II, 240 ff.

Has Roman Catholicism objected to and supervised perusal of the Bible by the layman or has it approved and promoted the personal use of the Bible by the ordinary Christian? [23]

Judaism apparently believed in the Bible in the home. About 168 B.C. Antiochus IV attempted to accelerate the rate of the hellenization of the Jews. As his agents carried out their ruler's coercive measures, they came upon privately owned copies of the law. "And they rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, and set them on fire. And wheresoever was found with any a book of the covenant and if any consented to the law, the king's sentence delivered him to death." [24] II Timothy 3:15 necessitates the assumption of private reading and study of the Jewish scriptures. Acts 17:11 refers to an examination of the scriptures apart from the period of worship. A special investigation of the Old Testament is undertaken with a view to discovering the truth or falsity of a particular claim. In the New Testament there are blocks of Old Testament quotations. These mosaics of quotations from the Old Testament are intended to form a consistent argument. The only question that may be debated is whether they originated with the author employing them or hail from an

23 On this question there are three noteworthy studies: Harnack, "Bible Reading in the Early Church"; Deanesly, "The Lollard Bible"; Coulton, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Bible." The source material is collected in these investigations. The discussion in the text is deeply indebted to these volumes.

24 I Maccabees 1:56 ff.

earlier time. They imply a thoroughgoing study of the Old Testament on the part of some one.

It is reasonable to conclude that Jewish Christians should be inclined to continue the ancestral custom of personal use of the scriptures. And the general enthusiasm of the early time should not have tolerated any restriction upon the private study of the Bible.

With the dawn of the second Christian century, evidence indicating extensive knowledge of the Bible and its free accessibility begins to accumulate. There is also exhortation to its use. Origen, likewise, is familiar with Bible reading in the home. Jerome thinks that girls of seven should begin committing the Bible to memory. Various opponents of Christianity fill their anti-Christian compositions with quotations from the Bible. Celsus, for example, is so thoroughly familiar with all phases of the life and teaching of Jesus that it must be taken for granted that he examined the scriptures quite critically. Dissenting Christian groups of the second century continually compare passages from the Old Testament with passages from the New Testament. Such exactness of information could hardly have been acquired from merely hearing the Bible read in public worship. Christian apologists like Justin, Tatian and Theophilus ascribe their conversion to Christianity to acquaintance with the Old Testament. Trypho, the Jew, is represented by Justin as familiar with the gospel. The appearance of a

Christian Latin Bible in the course of the second century points to more than liturgical need and employment. Diocletian's persecution was aimed at the Bible as well as Christian buildings and officials.

During the first four centuries, the Bible belonged to all the members of the Christian church. It was felt that the "Scriptures must remain the great public book of Christendom to which all men must be introduced and with which all must make themselves acquainted by daily reading." The church did not "dictate the relation between the individual and the Holy Scripture." But the layman more and more neglected or abused his privilege. In course of time the church assumed control of and supervised Bible reading and finally withdrew the Bible from use by the common man. Thus, the archbishop of York referring to the arrival of the Tyndale Bible informed Henry VIII: "All our forfadres of the churche of England, hath with all diligence forbid and eschued publication of Englishe bibles, as apperethe in constitutions provinciall of the churche of England." The Protestant Reformation reversed the process and returned the Bible to unrestricted reading and interpretation.

Out of the abundance of data gathered to justify these conclusions, the following instances may be cited.[25]

25 Harnack, "Bible Reading," etc., various pages.

"Thou mayest freely eat from every tree of the garden, that is, Eat ye from every scripture of the Lord."

"Since therefore, the entire scriptures, the prophets and the gospels can be clearly, unambiguously, and harmoniously understood by all." [26]

"Do you, then, who think that we care nothing for the welfare of Cæsar look into God's revelations, examine our sacred books, which we do not keep in hiding and which many accidents put into the hands of those who are not of us. Learn from them that a large benevolence is enjoined upon us, even so far as to supplicate God for our enemies and to beseech blessings on our persecutors." [27]

"The art of interpreting the scriptures is the only one of which all men everywhere claim to be masters. . . . The chatty old woman, the doting old man, and the wordy sophist, one and all take in hand the scriptures, rend them in pieces and teach them before they have learned them." [28]

Gregory VII regarded it as "clear to those who reflect often upon it, that not without reason has it pleased Almighty God that holy scripture

26 Irenæus, "Against Heresies," V, 20, 2 II, 27, 2.
27 Tertullian, "Apology," 31.
28 Jerome, "Letters," 53 : 7, 128 : 3.

should be secret in certain places, lest, if it were plainly apparent to all men, perchance it would be little esteemed and be subject to disrespect; or it might be falsely understood by those of mediocre learning, and lead to error." [29]

Innocent III was convinced that "the secret mysteries of the faith ought not to be explained to all men in all places, since they cannot be everywhere understood by all men: but only to those who can conceive them with a faithful mind. . . . For such is the depth of divine scripture, that not only the simple and illiterate, but even the prudent and the learned, are not fully sufficient to understand it. For many seek and fail in their search, whence it was of old rightly written in the divine law, that the beast which touched the mount should be stoned: lest, apparently, any simple and unlearned person should presume to attain to the sublimity of holy scripture." [30]

As late as the nineteenth century, Leo XII affirmed that "if the sacred scriptures be everywhere indiscriminately public, more evil than advantage will arise thence." [31]

To be able to read the Bible, the ordinary layman must depend upon a translation. Has Roman Catholicism favored translations into the vernacular?

The synod of Toulouse in 1229 decreed:

29 Deanesly, "Lollard Bible," p. 24.
30 Idem, p. 31.
31 Coulton, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Bible," p. 27.

> "Moreover, we prohibit that lay people should be permitted to have books of the Old or New Testament, except perchance any should wish from devotion to have a psalter, or a breviary for the divine office, or the hours of the blessed Virgin: but we most strictly prohibit their having even the aforesaid books translated into the vulgar tongue." [32]

The provincial synod of Tarragona in 1233 enacted:

> "No man shall possess books of the Old or New Testament in Romance. And if any possess such, let him hand them over to the episcopal seat to be burnt within eight days of the publication of this constitution; and whoever shall not do this, be he clerk or layman, shall be held suspect of heresy, until he shall have purged himself." [33]

Charles IV in 1369 issued an imperial prohibition directing the confiscation of various books, treatises, sermons, bound books suspected of containing heretical error, containing this sentence:

> "And all these are to be taken from all persons, secular and regular, and chiefly

32 Deanesly, "Lollard Bible," p. 36.
33 Idem, p. 48.

from lay people and the more especially, since it is not lawful, according to canon law, for lay people of either sex to read any books whatsoever of holy scripture written in the vulgar tongue." [34]

The exhaustive study of Margaret Deanesly concludes:

"When orthodox, or semi-orthodox, teachers began to teach lay people the practice of contemplative prayer, they were the first orthodox religious leaders to recommend the reading of the scriptures to lay people. This began in Germany, in 1386: here the teachers recommended translations; in England it began about 1380, by teachers who used the Vulgate. Certain scholars, like the lawyers of Cologne, and the Lollard doctors at Oxford and Prague, contended that biblical translations were lawful: but the far more influential Gerson and the fathers of Constance thought otherwise, and these carried orthodox opinion with them. Only from about 1509, and only in Germany, was there an orthodox movement for the popularization of the scripture by means of translating the gospel at mass, and allowing ordinary lay people the use of German gospel and epistle books. . . . There was no contemporary

34 Deanesly, "Lollard Bible," p. 84.

> movement in England. . . . Germany was the only country in Europe where orthodoxy allowed the study of biblical translations to lay people before the Reformation, and this only from about 1509 onwards. . . . In England as in the rest of Europe, the great majority of those familiar with the text of the Bible in English were Lollards, and Sir Thomas More recognized the general state of affairs when he made his Messenger complain that 'the Bible is in so few folks' hands.' "[35]

The attitude of Roman Catholicism toward the Bible may now be summarized. For the Roman Catholic, the supreme authority is not the Bible but the divine, infallible witness of the church. The church preceded the Bible and produced the Bible. The church is therefore the guarantor of inspiration and the custodian of interpretation. As Augustine put it, "I would not believe the gospel unless the authority of the church moved me thereto." The Bible alone gives no sufficient description of the gospel of Christ. Man requires the unwritten teaching of divine tradition for an adequate exposition of the will of God. The Bible is a collection of writings subject to the supervision and official interpretation of the church. "The Bible in the church; the church before the Bible; the church the maker and interpreter of

[35] Idem, p. 373.

the Bible—that is right . . . is the Catholic position." Or as Father Coupe put it: "If there be no such teacher [36] to enlighten us, then Christianity is a delusion and a dream, and there is nothing for us to do but, like the pagans of old, to cry out in anguish and desolation of heart, God there is none, future life there is none. Let us drink, and make merry, for to-morrow we die."

The authentic text of the Roman Catholic Bible is the Latin Vulgate constructed by Jerome at the request of Pope Domasus and made possible by the scholarship of the Greek church. In the course of three centuries this text replaced the Old Latin though itself undergoing variation. It contains Genesis 3:15 in the form, "I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: *she* shall crush thy head, and thou shalt be in wait for her heel." A strange rendering is met with in Exodus 34:29, 30, 34: "And when Moses came down from Mt. Sinai, he held the two tables of the testimony, and he knew not that his face was horned from the testimony of the Lord. And Aaron and the children of Israel seeing the face of Moses horned were afraid to come near. . . . And they saw that the face of Moses when he came out was horned, but he covered his face again if at any time he spoke to them." Ephesians 5:32 appears as "this is a great sacrament; but I speak in Christ and in the

[36] That is, as an infallible pope. See "Modern Churchman," March, 1925, p. 680.

church." Romans 5:12 appears as "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into this world, and by sin death; and as death passed upon all men, *in whom* all have sinned." I John 5:7 preserves the spurious text, "And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Lord, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." In 1590, Sixtus V published a "true, lawful, authentic, and unquestioned text." Two years later Clement VIII recalled the authentic Sixtine text and issued the Clementine vulgate under the name of Sixtus. The bull of Clement made this text the standard Roman text whereof "no word may be altered and whereof no variants may be printed." The Clementine text differed from the Sixtine text in thousands of instances. This infallible pronouncement did not prevent Pius X from appointing a commission which should try to "find or restore the original text as it came from the hands of Jerome uncorrupted by and stripped of subsequent admixture with other Latin copies"—a fatal though belated admission.

The Roman Catholic church views the interpretation of the Bible as quite as important a matter as the question of its content. There is but one valid interpretation and this is locked in the vault of the church. If one's natural stupidity and invincible ignorance insist on evidence, he is directed to consider the splendid variety of opinion produced by innumerable Protestant bodies in the exercise of their human fallible interpreta-

tions. Indeed, it was to prevent pious souls from becoming perplexed that the Roman Catholic church undertook to *supervise Bible reading.* To be sure, local and universal laws against Bible reading were enacted by some synods, but nevertheless the Roman Catholic church has never objected to the *devout* perusal of the Bible and has never proscribed the reading of the Bible in *Hebrew, Greek, or Latin!* Even translations in the vernacular may be read, provided they contain the imprimatur of the bishop and censored explanations! The council of Trent penalized private interpretation. So it would seem that the good Catholic may read his vulgate Bible but may not formulate an opinion regarding it. Contrast with this the pronouncement of the Irish Articles of Religion:

> "The Scriptures ought to be translated out of the original tongues into all languages for the common use of all men: neither is any person to be discouraged from reading the Bible in such a language as he doth understand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great humility and reverence, as a special means to bring him to the true knowledge of God and of his own duty." [37]

The most serious feature in regard to the decree on the Bible by the Council of Trent is its

[37] Schaff, "Creeds," III, 527.

anathema upon any one who does "not receive the entire books with all their parts as they are accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church and in the old Latin Vulgate edition as sacred and canonical, and knowingly and wittingly despises the aforesaid traditions." Fifty-three prelates of whom not one was a specialist in the questions involved ratified this decree which converted ecclesiastical usage into an "absolute article of faith."[38] Ecumenical councils had not determined the limits of the Old Testament or New Testament canon, "by making definite and complete lists of those books which they considered alone to have divine authority." The Roman Catholic Council of Trent did that. Moreover, the acceptance of the Bible as an article of Christian faith is explicitly mentioned for the first time in the creed of Pope Pius IV promulgated in 1564.[39] *It is after the adoption of the decree on the scriptures by the Council of Trent that Protestant confessions of faith begin to enumerate the canonical books.*

Finally, that Roman Catholicism accepts a theory of something like verbal inspiration for the entire Bible is borne out by this paragraph from the proceedings of the Vatican Council.

> "Further, this supernatural revelation, according to the universal belief of the Church,

38 Westcott, "Canon of the New Testament," 473 ff.
39 Daubney, "The Apocrypha in the Christian Church," p. 48 f.

declared by the sacred Synod of Trent, is contained in the written books and unwritten traditions which have come down to us, having been received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself; or from the Apostles themselves, by the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have been transmitted, as it were, from hand to hand. And these books of the Old and New Testament are to be received as sacred and canonical, in their integrity, with all their parts, as they are enumerated in the decree of the said Council, and are contained in the ancient Latin edition of the Vulgate. These the Church holds to be sacred and canonical, not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error; but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself." [40]

40 Schaff, "Creeds," II, p. 240 ff.

CHAPTER V

PROTESTANTISM AND THE BIBLE

Progress comes through conflict. The curve of history results from the tension between the conserving and expanding forces of life. The human race desires to conform, to be loyal to the group and its ideals, to be led, to follow, to be standardized. On the other hand, it resists pressure and coercion and authority and longs for freedom and independence.

Religion is one of the most conservative elements with which history has made acquaintance and yet it also manifests a pioneering, trail-blazing spirit. The one attitude is characterized by such dogmas as "all change is error, and all error leads to hell-fire"; "the Lord pardon him never . . . the Lord blot out his name under heaven. . . . There shall no man speak to him, write to him, show him any kindness, stay under the same roof with him"; "to take up arms for the Calvinist is nothing else than to serve under the originator of Calvinism—the Devil." The progressive attitude of religion is marked by such hopes as "force can never persuade men: it only makes hypocrites"; "if all mankind minus one were of one opinion and only one person of the

contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power would be justified in silencing mankind''; ''I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it.''

Protestantism has always been conservative, even to the degree of reaction, and liberal, sometimes to the degree of radicalism, as well. It has insisted upon personalism, upon the freedom of every individual in relation to God and to truth and to fellowman. It has also subjected men to the iron-clad authority of the letter of the Bible. Fundamentalism contends that Christianity is a book religion and regards the Bible as dictated by God and not amenable to the usual vicissitudes of history in its transmission. Liberalism traces the actual story of the Bible in the composition and selection of its books and the alteration of its text in the course of the centuries.

It was the action taken by the Roman Catholic Council of Trent that helped harden the Protestant attitude toward the Bible.

Martin Luther who in 1517 precipitated the Protestant reformation finally appealed to the Bible as ultimate authority, as ''the single and complete source of doctrine.'' He also limited the Old Testament to the books of the Hebrew canon. He differentiated between the books of the New Testament. He proposed arbitrary principles of translation. He even advanced to criticism of the Bible.

The title page of Luther's translation of the New Testament published at Wittenberg in September, 1522, indicates how Luther proceeded to discover a shorter New Testament within the New Testament of the Catholic church.

DIE BUCHER DES
NEWEN TESTA-
MENTS.

1. Evangelion Sanct Matthes.
2. Evangelion Sanct Marcus.
3. Evangelion Sanct Lucas.
4. Evangelion Sanct Johannis.
5. Der Apostel geschicht beschrieben von Sanct Lucas.
6. Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Römern.
7. Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern.
8. Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern.
9. Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Galatern.
10. Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Ephesern.
11. Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Philippern.
12. Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Colossern.
13. Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.
14. Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.
15. Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.
16. Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.

17. Epistel Sanct Paulus an Titon.
18. Epistel Sanct Paulus an Philemon.
19. Die erst Epistel Sanct Peters.
20. Die ander Epistel Sanct Peters.
21. Die erste Epistel Sanct Johannis.
22. Die ander Epistel Sanct Johannis.
23. Die drit Epistel Sanct Johannis.

Die Epistel zu den Ebreern.
Die Epistel Jacobus.
Die Epistel Judas.
Die offinbarung Johannis.

Luther enumerates but twenty-three books of the New Testament. He separates Hebrews, James, Jude and the Revelation of John from the remaining twenty-three books. He uses "saint" with Matthew, Mark, and so forth. He omits saint from James, Jude, and John. He leaves a space between his main list and his second list. Observe, also, that Luther lifts Hebrews and James out of their regular order after Philemon.

In his preface to this edition, Luther asserts that the epistles of Paul and Peter are far superior to the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. As his smaller New Testament, he selected the Gospel of John, the First Epistle of John minus I John 5:7 of the Authorized Version, Paul's letters, especially Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and I Peter. When compared with these James is a "right strawy epistle." His

second New Testament consisted of the synoptic gospels, Acts, the rest of the Pauline letters, II Peter, II and III John. His third New Testament was composed of James, Hebrews, Jude, Revelation of John. Evidently Luther regarded the Bible as a book *containing* the Word of God. His theory of inspiration was stated in this manner, "the prophets were holy, spiritual, industrious folks who earnestly reflected upon divine and holy things. Hence God spoke to their consciences. This the prophets interpreted as revelation."[1]

Luther enunciated his guiding principle to be testimony to Christ:

> "The proper test to apply to all books is whether they show Christ or not. For all scripture points to Christ. St. Paul desires to know only Christ. What does not teach Christ is not apostolic, although St. Peter or Paul should teach it. On the other hand, whatever preaches Christ is apostolic though it hails from Judas, Annas, Pilate, or Herod.
>
> "One who does not behold Christ in the Bible and the Hebrew language does not behold anything and talks as a blind man regarding color."[2]

Luther tested canonicity by conformity with his central affirmation of justification by faith not by

1 Erlangen Edition 62 : 146.
2 Idem, 56 : 70.

the inward voice of the Holy Spirit. He rejected reason. "There is no word in the scripture insignificant enough to be comprehended by reason."[3] "Even if all the holy teachers had held this or that, they are as nothing against one *right* passage from the Scriptures."[4] But who decided whether the passage was "right"? Martin Luther was a pragmatist in his attitude toward the Bible.

Since Luther assumed that the Hebrew text had been corrupted subsequent to the Babylonian captivity, he did not find it difficult to subscribe to very arbitrary principles of translation.

> "If Moses and the prophets were to rise from the dead, they would not understand their own words because they have been twisted so.
>
> "The seventy Greek translators had no experience or practice with the Hebrew. Their translation is quite foolish and out of gear."[5]

> "Dr. Forster and Ziegler conferred with us about our version and gave us much help. I gave them three rules: 1. The Bible speaks and teaches of God's works, of this there can be no doubt. But these works are divided into three classes: the Home, the State, and

3 Erlangen Edition 15: 135.
4 Weimar Edition I, 384.
5 Erlangen Edition 62: 314-316.

the Church. If a saying does not fit the Church, let us place it in whichever of the other classes it best suits. 2. When there is doubt about the words or construction, we must choose the sense—saving the grammar—which agrees with the New Testament. 3. If a sentence is repugnant to the whole of Scripture, we must throw it away, for the rabbis have corrupted the whole text with their notes, trying to make it appear that the Messiah will come to give us meat and drink and afterwards will die. That is horror and we must simply throw it away. I took many a questionable sentence to Forster; if he said, 'But the rabbis understood it so and so,' I replied, 'But could you not write the vowel points differently and construe so as to agree with the New Testament?' In case his reply was affirmative I would say that it should be so construed. That sometimes surprised them, and they said that they would not have thought of that sense their whole life long." [6]

Transmitted methods of interpretation permitted the interpreter of the Bible to concern himself with facts, with faith, with duty, or with destiny. He discovered what he wished to dis-

6 Preserved Smith in his "Martin Luther," p. 265, quotes and translates this statement of Luther. The source is number 594 in Kroker, Luther's "Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung." Text quotes Smith.

cover. Hence Luther let Adam and Eve enter the garden at noon, fall at two in the afternoon, and remain childless until thirty years after the fall. On Genesis 9:23 Luther comments: "This narrative is interpreted by many as if the sins of prelates should not be punished . . . but Noah signifies Christ and all believers; the drunkenness signifies love and faith in the Holy Spirit; the nakedness is the cross and suffering in the world. Ham is the deceptive holiness of works, Shem and Japheth represent pious Christians." Daniel 11:45, "And he shall plant the tents of his palace between the seas at the glorious holy mountain" was referred by Luther to Rome in Italy. Revelation 14:20, "a thousand six hundred furlongs" received this interpretation: "about forty-six German miles. If the peasant's revolution is not signified, then it is allegorically a symbol of the great defeat of the papacy." The Epistle of James received special attention: James 1:6, "But let him ask in faith"—"this is the only and best place in the entire epistle"; 1:21, "receive with meekness the implanted word"—"that is, others have planted it, not this James"; 2:3, "and ye have regard to him that weareth the fine clothing"—"why is it sinful to show an overlord outward honor"; 2:24, "ye see that by works man is justified and not only by faith"—"that is not true"; 3:1, "be not many of you teachers"—"good, if you yourself had only observed the rule."

Luther was unsparing as a critic of the Bible. He observed serious defects in David. The story of Jonah impressed him as "exaggerated beyond the possibility of belief"; "if it were not in the Bible I should laugh at its lies." "For how could Jonah remain in the belly of the whale three days when he would have been digested in three hours. That's childish. And after his rescue, he gets mad over a little thing like a gourd. . . . Jonah desired to murder an entire city—some saint!" The statement in Acts 7:4, "Then came he out of the land of the Chaldeans and dwelt in Haran: *and from thence when his father was dead,* God removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell" received this comment: "Not so. Abraham was an idolater in Mesopotamia before being called thence, as appears from Joshua 24:2. This narrative seems very erroneous if all circumstances are not taken into consideration. For Terah begat Abraham at 70 years; Abraham departed from Haran when 75 years of age; Terah lived 205 years. Therefore Abraham left Haran 60 years prior to the death of Terah."[7] The allegory of Sarah and Hagar of the fourth chapter of Galatians was "too weak to hold."

Consider Luther's judgment upon authorship and content of some of the books of the Bible. "What difference would it make if the first book of the five books of Moses had not been written by Moses himself?" "Genesis seems not to have

7 Genesis 11:26, 12:4.

been written by Moses, is hard to read, and its first five chapters are not thoroughly understood."[8] "The books of Kings are 100,000 paces ahead of those of Chronicles"; "the Proverbs of Solomon were collected by some one else"; "I dislike II Maccabees and Esther so much that I wish they were not extant. They contain too much paganism"; "Ecclesiastes has neither boots nor spurs but rides only in socks just as I did when I was in the cloister; Solomon himself did not write the book of Ecclesiastes, but it was produced by Sirach at the time of the Maccabees. . . . It is a sort of Talmud, compiled from many books, probably from the library of King Ptolemy Euergetes of Egypt"; "Job is history in the form of drama"; "Judith is a tragedy"; "Tobit is a comedy"; "the third book of Ezra I should throw into the Elbe." Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation did not for Luther possess the same authority as the books of the New Testament included in his enumerated list. Hebrews was of unknown authorship and passages in chapters 6, 10, 12 were inconsistent with all the gospels and the epistles of Paul. James was not apostolic, for it did not agree with Paul and other scripture or mention the suffering or resurrection of Christ.[9] Jude was merely copied from II Peter and evidently not written by an apostle. Even the fathers questioned its canonicity. The apostle

8 Kroker, "Tischreden," number 107, 478, 574.
9 On James, see also Kroker, "Tischreden," number 528, 617.

Jude was not acquainted with Greek. It need not be regarded as a principal book of the New Testament. The Revelation of John could not be considered as prophetic or apostolic. The apostles do not employ visions. It resembles IV Ezra too much. It protests too much. Finally, it does not teach or recognize Christ.[10]

The Augsburg Confession contains no article upon the Bible and no list of canonical books.[11]

Karlstadt, at first coworker with Luther, recognized three strata in New Testament books.[12]

Oecolompadius, a southern German reformer, refused to compare James, II Peter, II and III John, Jude, and Revelation with the remaining New Testament writings.

Even Calvin betrays hesitation regarding James, Jude, and II Peter.

The First Helvetic Confession representing the views of the reformed churches in Switzerland devotes several articles to the interpretation and purpose of the Bible, but fails to enumerate a list of canonical books.[13]

The fatal decree of the Roman Catholic Council of Trent regarding the Holy Scriptures was adopted April 8, 1546. Henceforward, Protestant Confessions of Faith pay more attention to the definition of the meaning of the Bible.

The French Confession of Faith has a long

10 Revelation 22 : 18 ff.
11 Holtzmann, "Kanon," p. 41, "All Lutheran orthodox witnesses, 1517-1618, deny seven books canonical authority."
12 Gregory, "Canon and Text of the New Testament," p. 289.
13 Schaff, "Creeds," III, p. 211; A.D. 1536.

description of the meaning of the Bible and enumerates a list of thirty-nine Old Testament and twenty-seven New Testament books. Thereupon it adds

Article IV

"We know these books to be canonical, and the sure rule of our faith, not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books upon which, however useful, we cannot found any articles of faith."

Article V

"We believe that the Word contained in these books has proceeded from God, and receives its authority from him alone, and not from men. And inasmuch as it is the rule of all truth, containing all that is necessary for the service of God and for our salvation, it is not lawful for men, nor even for angels, to add to it, to take away from it, or to change it. Whence it follows that no authority, whether of antiquity, or custom, or numbers, or human wisdom, or judgments, or proclamations, or edicts, or decrees, or councils, or visions, or miracles, should be opposed to these Holy Scriptures, but, on the contrary, all things should be examined, regulated, and reformed according to them." [14]

These two articles describe the two points of departure within Protestantism and anticipate

14 Schaff, "Creeds" III, p. 360 ff., A.D. 1559. "The Confession of the Waldenses," 1655, is very similar to this. Schaff III, 758 ff. Sabatier, "Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit," p. 154: "In the name of Scripture, the Protestants overthrew the authority of tradition; in the name of tradition, the Catholics well-nigh cancelled the Scriptures . . . without tradition the Scriptures are without external support, and cannot become a dogma. They remain simply historic documents, subject to the appreciation and interpretation of the individual reason."

the modern controversy between fundamentalism and liberalism.

The Belgic Confession of Faith has a series of articles on the written word of God, the canonical books of the Holy Scriptures, their dignity and authority, the difference between canonical and apocryphal books, and the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures to be the only rule of faith. The more emphatic assertions of these articles are quoted.[15]

> "God himself wrote with his own finger the two tables of the law.
>
> "We receive all these books,[16] and these only, as holy and canonical, for the regulation, foundation, and confirmation of our faith; believing, without any doubt, all things contained in them, not so much because the Church receives and approves them as such, but more especially because the Holy Ghost witnesseth in our hearts that they are from God, whereof they carry the evidence in themselves. For the very blind are able to perceive that the things foretold in them are fulfilling.
>
> "We believe that these Holy Scriptures fully contain the will of God, and that whatsoever was right to believe unto salvation is sufficiently taught therein."

15 Schaff, "Creeds," III, 383 f., A.D. 1561, Revised 1619.
16 The 66 books of the Protestant Bible.

The Scotch Confession of Faith contains an article on the authority of the Scriptures which reads:

> "As we believe and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfite, so do we affirme and avow the authoritie of the same to be of God, and nether to depend on men nor angeles. We affirme, therefore, that sik as allege the Scripture to have na uther authoritie bot that quhilk it hes received from the kirk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the treu Kirk, guhilk alwaies heares and obeyis the voice of her awin Spouse and Pastor; bot takis not upon her to be maistres over the samin." [17]

The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, published in 1571, deal with the Bible in articles six and seven. The more pertinent points follow:

> "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

17 Article XIX, Schaff, III, 464, A.D. 1560.

The sixty-six books of the Protestant canon are enumerated.

The Apocrypha which are listed are useful "for example of lyfe and instruction of manners; but yet it doth not applie these to establishe any doctrene."

> "The Olde Testament is not contrary to the newe, for both in the olde and newe Testament everlastyng lyfe is offered to mankynde by Christe. . . . Although the lawe geven from God by Moses, as touchyng ceremonies and rites, do not bynde Christian men, nor the civile precepts thereof, ought of necessitie to be receaved in any commonwealth; yet not withstandyng, no Christian man whatsoever, is free from the obedience of the commaundmentes, which are called morall." [18]

The Formula of Concord, that later formulation of the Lutheran position, begins

> "We believe, confess, and teach that the only rule and norm according to which all dogmas and all doctors ought to be esteemed and judged, is no other whatever than the prophetic and apostolic writings both of the Old and the New Testament, as it is written:

18 Schaff, III, 489 ff. Notice Methodist repetition in 1784, Schaff, III, 808 and Reformed Episcopal repetition in 1875, Schaff, III, 814.

'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path.' And St. Paul saith: 'Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed.'

"But other writings, whether of the fathers or of the moderns, with whatsoever name they come, are in no wise to be equalled to the Holy Scriptures, but are all to be esteemed inferior to them, so that they be not otherwise received than in the rank of witnesses, to show what doctrine was taught after the apostles' times also, and in what parts of the world that more sound doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles has been preserved." [19]

But there is no enumeration of canonical books in the Formula of Concord.

The Westminster Confession of Faith probably contains the classical statement of the conservative Protestant attitude toward the Bible. It is, therefore, quoted in full.[20]

Of the Holy Scriptures.

I. Although the light of nature, and the works of creation and providence, do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, as to leave men inexcusable; yet are

19 Schaff, "Creeds," III, 93 ff.
20 Schaff, III, 600 ff., A.D., 1647. Italics mine.

they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God, and of his will, which is necessary unto salvation; therefore it pleased the Lord, at sundry times, and in divers manners, to reveal himself, and to declare his will unto his Church, and afterwards, for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh, and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same *wholly unto writing;* which maketh the holy Scripture to *be most necessary;* those former ways of God's revealing his will unto his people *being now ceased.*

II. Under the name of holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the Books of the Old and New Testament, which are these:

Of the Old Testament

Genesis	II Kings
Exodus	I Chronicles
Leviticus	II Chronicles
Numbers	Ezra
Deuteronomy	Nehemiah
Joshua	Esther
Judges	Job
Ruth	Psalms
I Samuel	Proverbs
II Samuel	Ecclesiastes
I Kings	The Song of Songs

Isaiah
Jeremiah
Lamentations
Ezekiel
Daniel
Hosea
Joel
Amos
Obadiah
Jonah
Micah
Nahum
Habakkuk
Zephaniah
Haggai
Zechariah
Malachi

Of the New Testament

The Gospels according to

Matthew
Mark
Luke
John
The Acts of the Apostles
Paul's Epistles to the Romans
Corinthians I
Corinthians II
Galatians
Ephesians
Philippians
Colossians
Thessalonians I
Thessalonians II
To Timothy I
To Timothy II
To Titus
To Philemon
The Epistle to the Hebrews
The Epistle of James
The First and Second Epistles of Peter
The First, Second, and Third Epistles of John
The Epistle of Jude
The Revelation

All which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life.

III. The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other *human writings.*

IV. *The authority* of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly *upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof;* and *therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God.*

V. We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem of the holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God; yet, notwithstanding, *our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts.*

VI. The whole counsel of God, concerning

all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. *Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word;* and that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God, and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.

VII. *All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed,* for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.

VIII. *The Old Testament in Hebrew* (which was the native language of the people of God of old), *and the New Testament in Greek* (which at the time of the writing of

it was most generally known to the nations), *being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages,* are therefore authentical; so as in all controversies of religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have right unto, and interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded, in the fear of God, to read and search them, therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation unto which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, may have hope.

IX. The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.

X. *The Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.*

The dependence of the Westminster Confession of Faith upon the earlier Protestant affirmations is exceedingly evident and requires no comment.

The Westminster Confession of Faith finds the only sufficient revelation of God in the *written holy scripture.* It refuses to recognize any unwritten tradition as of binding authority for faith and for practice. Not 72 or more books but 66 books were given by inspiration. The Apocrypha recognized by the Roman Catholic Church are human writings. The authority of the holy scripture depends wholly on God, its author. The inward work of the Holy Spirit produces the acceptance of the divine authority and infallible truth of the Bible. The canon of the scripture is closed; no writings within the Bible may be removed and none may be added. While it must be granted that there are different strata of material in the Bible, that areas of the holy scripture are somewhat obscure, man cannot err as to salvation. *The translated text is not immediately inspired but the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament are not only immediately inspired but have been kept pure in transmission!* The Swiss Formula Consensus 1675 maintained the divine inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points, although no text of the time of Jesus or several centuries thereafter contained vowel points. Of course, the existing Hebrew and Greek texts are not pure. If recourse is taken to the original Hebrew and Greek, it must be stated that those

texts are not recoverable. Moreover, the unity of the scripture may not be called in question. The sense of the scripture is one. "The Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture" is the supreme court in religion. Further, the individual believer is entitled to free and unlimited access to and private interpretation of the Bible. The church may not intervene between the individual and the scripture.

This answer, while granting that the Bible originated at a definite time, contends that its message in its entirety was intended for all time. The value of the Bible is absolute. Only within its pages does God speak in any final way. The Bible as such is the word of God. God speaks in an objective way in the scripture. The original text of the Bible is of immediate divine authority. The Bible is composed of the very words of God. The brain of man had naught to do with the transmission of the message. The Bible is everywhere equally the word of God, as soon as man correctly understands it. There are no disagreements or contradictions in the Bible.

A consistent application of this point of view involves the transformation of the historically conditioned material of the Bible into universally valid dogma, erases disagreements with the magic touch of harmonization and allegory, cultivates insincerity, and turns the Bible into a vast desert.

The Savoy Declaration of 1658 and the Philadelphia Confession of Faith of 1688, the one Con-

gregational, the other Baptist, repeat substantially the Westminster Confession of Faith in the matter of the Scriptures.[21]

The third proposition of the apology of Robert Barclay representing the view of the Friends is concerned with the Scriptures.

> "From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints have proceeded the Scriptures of truth, which contain: 1. A faithful historical account of the actings of God's people in divers ages, with many singular and remarkable providences attending them. 2. A prophetical account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come. 3. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times, and upon sundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their pastors: *nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners.* Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and

21 Schaff, III, 707, 738.

may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty; for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth: *therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal* Leader.[22] And seeing we do therefore receive and believe the Scriptures, because they proceeded from the Spirit, therefore also the *Spirit is more originally and principally the rule* according to that received *maxim in the* schools, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale.* Englished thus: 'That for which a thing is such, that thing itself is more such.' "[23]

In concluding the story of the attitude of Protestantism toward the Bible, two creeds representing the position of modern fundamentalism are

22 John 16 : 13 ; Romans 8 : 14.

23 Schaff, III, 791. Italics mine. For various later definitions of the Bible, see Schaff, III, 730, 736, 912 for Congregationalism; III, 742, 749 for Baptists; III, 781, 827 and Mode, p. 644 for Evangelicalism; Mode, p. 687, for the United Lutheran Church; Vanderlaan, "Fundamentalism versus Modernism," for very recent affirmations. Vanderlaan in his "Protestant Modernism in Holland," p. 31, quotes and translates a very interesting passage from Scholten's "The Doctrine of the Reformed Church," etc.: "The ground on which the Reformed Church acknowledges the Word of God in the Scriptures as the expression of its faith lies not in the witness of the Church, nor in that of the Scripture itself; nor in the historico-critical proofs of the genuineness and credibility of the books of the Bible; but in the witness of the Holy Spirit, i.e., in the agreement of what God has revealed through his messengers in the Scripture with what he still reveals by his Spirit in the reason and conscience of man. By virtue of this principle, the Reformed Church rises above belief on authority, as well that found in the Roman Church, as that of later Protestant dogmatics and Socinianism."

quoted in part. The first excerpt is from the creed of the Baptist Bible Union, while the second represents collegiate fundamentalism.

> "We believe,
>
> 1. Of the Scriptures
>
> That the Bible was written by men supernaturally inspired; that it has truth without any admixture of error for its matter; that, as originally written, it is both scientifically and historically true and correct; and therefore is, and shall remain to the end of the age, the only complete and final revelation of the will of God to man; the true center of Christian union and the supreme standard by which all human conduct, creeds and opinions should be tried."

> "We believe in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as verbally inspired by God, and inerrant in the original writings; and that there is no difference in kind in the inspiration of the books of the Bible. We reject the notion that just the thoughts and not the words of Bible writers are inspired of God, and believe that the Scriptures are of supreme and final authority in faith and practice.
>
> "We believe in the immediate creation of man by Almighty God, rather than in his mediate creation. We therefore utterly re-

ject the anti-Biblical and unscientific doctrine of evolution, whether it be theistic, atheistic, materialistic, or any other form whatever.

"We believe that the first and second chapters of Genesis, which include the account of the making of Eve from Adam's rib, are historically correct and scientifically accurate. We reject utterly the mythical interpretations of these chapters.

"We believe that Adam and Eve were the first created human beings in the entire history of the world, and that all nations, kindred and tongues had their origin in their loins." [24]

The final authority of Roman Catholicism is the infallible church and pope. The final authority of fundamentalism is the infallible Bible. Which of these forms of external authority has the promise of longer endurance? "The Protestant doctrine of an infallible and self-interpreting Bible is bound to disappear from the minds of thinking man long before the Catholic doctrine of an infallible Church." [25]

24 See *Christian Work* for May 31, 1924, p. 702, and the *Educational Review*, February, 1923, p. 74 ff., and Vanderlaan, "Fundamentalism," etc., pp. 22, 25.

25 McGiffert, "Rise of Modern Religious Ideas," p. 284.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE BIBLE

The Christian Bible is a literary and religious deposit of the experience of the Hebrew people and of the primitive Christians. To understand it, an historical, literary, and religious approach is necessary.

The Bible contains such literary forms as history, story, oration, sermon, parable, letter, ballad, ode, prayer, dialogue, proverb, drama, essay. Matthew Arnold was convinced that the "first step toward a right understanding of the Bible" was to appreciate that its language was not "rigid, fixed, and scientific" but "fluid and literary."

The printing of the Bible has done much toward obliterating the correct interpretation of the authors' intention. Splendid poetic passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah and Job and Paul have been reduced to plain prose by the printer. How may the value of a chapter be assessed properly, when neither choice of words nor arrangement of verses in any way suggests the type of literature involved? The chapters and verses of the printed Bible have assuredly assisted in obscuring origi-

nal purpose and setting. The failure to differentiate between the words of an author of a New Testament production and his quotations from the Old Testament has utterly confused the English reader. When one recognizes that much of the seventh chapter of the book of Acts is in the exact words of the Greek Old Testament, his entire attitude toward the apology of Stephen is altered. To read the third or the fourth chapter of Romans in a translation differentiating between quotation from the Old Testament and the words of Paul signifies change of heart toward the easy conclusions of yesterday.[1]

If there is the slightest doubt regarding the significance of recognizing that the Bible is literature, reduce almost any psalm to prose by omitting the second member of the parallelism and reading it according to the progress of the thought.

But much more than literary feeling is essential to the understanding of the Bible. For the Bible can only be understood historically. To keep faith with the original aim of the authors of the books of the Bible is to employ the historical method of interpreting the Bible. This method is at least as old as the investigation which culminated in the composition of the gospel according to Luke. When the author of the third gospel undertook to do independent work upon the

1 See Moulton, "Literary Study of the Bible," Drinkwater, "Outline of English Literature," I, chapter 4. Purinton, "Biblical Literature," p. 11 f., L. H. Wild, "A Literary Guide to the Bible."

gospels already in existence, when he made a careful comparison and rearrangement of existing materials, he availed himself of the historical method. Christian scholars at Antioch during the fourth and fifth centuries employed it. The modern world became familiar with it in consequence of the expansion of knowledge resulting from the Protestant reformation. When Protestantism appealed to the Bible, it had to ascertain its history, its contents, its purpose. The historical method of interpreting the Bible involves the scrutiny of documents, the study of context, the appreciation of original environment, the search for cause and effect, the relation of religious conditions to the total situation. It assumes that morality is progressive. It allows for the conclusions of recent philological investigation and makes a fair appraisal of ancient literary methods. It employs different canons of interpretation when dealing with narrative, philosophy, poetry, and apocalypse. It takes strata for granted. It raises the comparative question. It establishes Christianity upon an historical foundation. It is scientific research. Its object is to secure dependable information. It discriminates between error and truth. Without criticism there cannot be exact study. "If Protestant Christianity be true to itself and loyal to its principles, it must not disavow criticism, nor historical research in any form; it must not discourage any critic, whatever his name, who is honestly applying methods that are really

scientific in order to test the reality and determine the significance of scripture history."[2]

As an illustration of the ability of the historical method to explain biblical situations, consider the separation of the Kingdom of Israel from the Kingdom of Judah just after the death of king Solomon. The traditional interpretation sees here a quarrel between the supporters of Rehoboam and Jeroboam which was directed by Yahweh. The historical method demonstrates that the separation ensued in consequence of the ancient love of democracy handed down from nomad experience, the resentment on the part of the people against the establishment of a Davidic dynasty, against the centralization of government at Jerusalem, against the attempt artificially to shift the center of gravity from its natural place in the North to the new South, against the elevation of a younger tribe to headship, against the tyranny of Solomon in connection with his vast building operations, his establishment of fortifications, his payment of a huge annual tax to king Hiram of Tyre, and his slave labor system, Rehoboam's superficial policy of repression, and the power of the personality of Jeroboam.[3]

The supreme test of any method of studying the Bible is its fruitage. The historical method bequeaths the perspective through which the Bible becomes a very attractive book.

2 William Arnold Stevens, "New Testament Introduction."
3 I Kings 5 : 13, 6 : 37, 7 : 1 ff., 8, 9 : 23, 10 : 13, 11 : 3.

Suppose that instead of debating whether the conception of God made progress through the centuries of Hebrew history, one let the historical method tell the true story.

In the cool of the day, when they heard the sound of God the Eternal walking in the park, the man and his wife hid from the presence of God the Eternal among the trees of the park; but God the Eternal called to the man and asked him, "Where are you?" "I heard the sound of you in the park," he answered, "and I was afraid, because I was naked; so I hid myself."

When the Eternal saw that the wickedness of man on earth was great, and that man's mind was never bent on anything but evil, the Eternal was sorry that he had ever made man on the earth; it was a grief to him. So the Eternal said, "I will blot him off the earth, this man that I have formed—man and beast and reptile and bird; I am sorry that I ever made them."

"Say on," said Saul. And Samuel proceeded, "You may think little of yourself, but are you not at the head of the clans of Israel? The Eternal anointed you king over Israel, and the Eternal sent you on a mission saying, 'Go and destroy these sinners of Amalekites; fight against them till they are wiped out.' Why, then, have you not obeyed the voice of the Eternal? Why have you darted on the spoil and done wrong in the eyes of the Eternal?" But Saul said to Samuel, "I have obeyed the voice of the Eternal. I have gone on the mission which the Eternal sent me. I have caught Agag king of Amâlek, and I have destroyed the Amalekites. . . .

. . . Then said Samuel, "Bring Agag the Amalekite king here to me." Agag came to him with tottering steps; "Death is a bitter thing," said Agag. But Samuel said, "As your sword has bereaved women, so shall your mother be most bitterly be-

reaved"; and Samuel hacked Agag to pieces before the Eternal at Gilgal.

Where could I go from thy Spirit,
  where could I flee from thy face?
I climb to heaven?—but thou art there;
  I nestle in the nether-world?—
  and there thou art!
If I darted swift to the dawn,
  to the verge of the ocean afar,
thy hand even there would fall on me,
  thy right hand would reach me.
If I say, "The dark will screen me,
  the night will hide me in its curtains,"
yet darkness is not dark to thee,
  the night is clear as daylight.

  Then the Eternal answered
Eyob out of a storm, saying:
"Who darkens my design
  with a cloud of thoughtless words?
Confront me like a man;
  and answer these my questions.

When I founded the earth, where were you then?
  Answer me that, if you have wit to know.
Who measured out the earth?—do you know that?
  Who stretched the builder's line?
What were its pedestals placed on?
  Who laid the corner-stone,
when the morning-stars were singing,
  and all the angels chanted in their joy?

Come, let me put it thus,
  the Eternal argues:
scarlet your sins may be,
  but they can become white as snow,
they may be red as crimson,
  and yet turn white as wool.
If only you are willing to obey,
  you shall feed on the best of the land;
but if you decline and defy me,
  then husks shall be your food—
  so the Eternal himself decrees."

Then God asked Jonah, "Are you right to be angry over the gourd?" "Yes," said Jonah, "mortally angry." So the Eternal said to him, "You are sorry about the gourd, though you spent no toil upon it, you never made it grow—a gourd that sprang up in a night—and perished in a night! And am I not to be sorry for Nineveh, that great city, with over a hundred and twenty thousand infants in it who know not their right hand from their left, and with all its cattle?"

What father among you, if asked by his son for
a loaf, will hand him a stone?
Or, if asked for a fish, will hand him a serpent
instead of a fish?
Or, if asked for an egg, will he hand him a
scorpion?
Well, if for all your evil you know to give your
children what is good,
how much more will your Father give the holy
Spirit from heaven to those who ask him?"

You have heard the saying, '*You must love your neighbor* and hate your enemy.' But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven:

he makes his sun rise on the evil and the good,
and sends rain on the just and the unjust.
For if you love only those who love you, what
reward do you get for that?
do not the very taxgatherers do as much?
and if you only salute your friends, what is special about that?
do not the very pagans do as much?
You must be perfect as your heavenly Father is
perfect.

"Woman," said Jesus, "believe me, the time is coming when you will be worshipping the Father neither on this mountain nor at Jerusalem. You are worshipping something you do not know; we are worshipping what we do know—for salvation comes from the Jews. But the time is coming, it

has come already, when the real worshippers will worship the Father in Spirit and in reality; for these are the worshippers that the Father wants. God is Spirit, and his worshippers must worship him in Spirit and in reality."

and apart from faith it is impossible *to satisfy him,* for the man who draws near to God must believe that he exists and that he does reward those who seek him.

Beloved, let us love one another, for love belongs to God, and every one who loves is born of God and knows God; he who does not love, does not know God, for God is love. This is how the love of God has appeared for us, by God sending his only Son into the world, so that by him we might live. Love lies in this, not in our love for him but in his love for us—in the sending of his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God had such love for us, we ought to love one another. God no one has ever seen; but if we love one another, then God remains within us, and love for him is complete in us.[4]

Did the Hebrews develop a faith in life after death ranging from the expectation of a shadowy survival of death to the glorious conviction of a continuation of personality? The answer furnished by the historical method is very clear.

Throughout the land both high and low shall die
and all unburied lie,
with none to lament or gash themselves
or cut their hair for them,
Heads are shaven, beards cut close,
hands are gashed, and sack-cloth worn,

4 Genesis 3 : 8-10, 6 : 5-7 ; I Samuel 15 : 17 ff. ; Psalm 139 : 7 ff. ; Job 38 : 1-7 ; Isaiah 1 : 18-20 ; Jonah 4 : 9-11 ; Luke 11 : 11-13 ; Matthew 5 : 43-48 ; John 4 : 21-24 ; Hebrews 11 : 6 ; I John 4 : 7-12. Quotations are from the Moffatt translation.

At the shriek of your pilots
the coast is a-quiver;
and oarsmen, all of them,
sailors and pilots,
come out of their ships
to stand on the beach,
wailing over you,
crying out bitterly,
flinging dust on their heads,
sprinkling ashes upon them,
shaving their heads to bemoan you,
girding themselves with sack-cloth,
and weeping for you bitterly
with bitter wailing.

Then Saul said to his courtiers, "Find me a witch, that I may go and consult her." His courtiers said, "There is a witch at Endor." So Saul, disguising himself and changing his clothes, went with two men to the woman by night; he said to her, "Inquire for me as a medium; bring me up the ghost of some one whom I name to you." The woman said to him, "You know what Saul has done, cutting mediums and wizards out of the country! Why, then, are you laying a trap for my life, to have me put to death?"

. . . [[And the Eternal will put Israel along with yourself into the power of the Philistines.]] To-morrow you shall fall, with your sons at your side, and the Eternal will put the army of Israel into the power of the Philistines." Saul was overcome and fell at full length on the ground, aghast at what Samuel said; there was no strength in him, for he had eaten nothing all day and all night.

The underworld is astir to greet you,
  astir to meet you,
rousing all the ghosts for you,
  that on earth were chieftains,
moving monarchs of the world
  from their thrones,
to hail you, one and all of them, to cry to you,
"So you are weak now as we are?

So you fare as we fare?
Your pomp has passed down to the world below,
you and your peals of music?
Maggots are spread under you,
around your coverlet!"
What a fall from heaven on high,
O shining star of the dawn!
How low and limp you lie,
who once swayed all the nations!
You, who once said to yourself,
"I will scale the sky,
I will set my throne supreme
above the stars on high,
I will sit on the hill of the gods
in the far, far north;
I will scale the cloud-banks,
and rival the Most High!"
And down you drop, to the world below,
down to death's abyss you go!
Those who see you scan you,
mark you and then muse,
"Is this the man who made earth tremble,
who shook empires,
who made a desert of the world,
demolishing its cities,
who never let a prisoner go,
to return home?"
The kings of nations sleep in honor,
each within his tomb;
but you are flung down where dead bodies lie,
of men the sword has slain,
unburied like a corpse trod under foot,
like a scion disowned. . . .

You shall sleep not with your fathers
in the grave;
for your country you have wasted,
your people you have killed.
Never be the wicked's race
mentioned upon earth!
His sons be slaughtered,
for their father's guilt,
lest they go on to seize the world
and multiply on all the earth!

Why died I not when I was
born, why did I not perish at birth,
why was I not buried like an abortion,
like still-born babes that never see the daylight?
Why were there knees to welcome me,
why were there breasts to suck?
I would have been lying still,
I would have slept in peace,
with kings and statesmen of the world
who had built pyramids for themselves,
with princes, rich in gold,
who had filled palaces with silver.
There villains cease to rage,
and their victims are at peace—
captives lying quiet together,
deaf to the slavedriver's shout;
high and low are there alike,
the slave is free from his master.

Son of man, wail over the host of Egypt, and send them down with a lament, you and the women of the mighty nations, to the nether regions, to join those who go down into the pit below.

'Whom do you surpass in beauty?
Yet down with you, down to a shameful death,
you and all your host,
amid victims of the sword!'
The mighty warriors in the underworld shall hail him and his allies:
'Down with you, down, to a shameful death,
you and all your host,
amid victims of the sword!'
Assyria is down there with all her folk, their graves around their king's, buried in the abysses of the pit, all victims of the sword, who were a terror in the land of the living.

O thou Eternal, I cry for help in the daytime,
and at night I moan before thee;
let my prayer reach thy presence,
bend an ear to my cry.
For trouble fills my soul to the full,
my life is on the verge of death;

I am already reckoned among the departed,
I am but the shadow of a man,
left to myself among the dead,
like the slain lying in their graves,
of whom thou hast mind no more—
they are deprived of thee.
I nestle in the netherworld?—
and thou art there!

and many who sleep in the dust of death shall awake, some to life for evermore and some to be rejected and abhorred for evermore. The pious loyalists shall shine bright as the sky above, and those who have led many to the true religion shall shine like the stars for evermore.

O thou Eternal, thy dead shall live again,
awakening from the dust
with songs of joy;
for thy dew falls with light and life,
till dead spirits arise."

Still, I know One to champion me at last,
to stand up for me upon earth.
This body may break up, but even then
my life shall have a sight of God;
my heart is pining as I yearn
to see him on my side,
see him estranged no longer.

Thus reasoned they, and they were led astray;
For their wickedness blinded them,
And they knew not the mysteries of God,
Neither hoped they for wages of holiness,
Nor did they judge that there is a prize for
blameless souls.
Because God created man for incorruption,
And made him an image of his own proper
being;
But by the envy of the devil death entered
into the world,
And they that are of his portion make trial
thereof.

But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
And no torment shall touch them.
In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died:
And their departure was accounted *to be their* hurt,
And their journeying away from *us to be their* ruin:
But they are in peace.
For even if in the sight of men they be punished,
Their hope is full of immortality;
And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good;
Because God made trial of them, and found them worthy of himself.
As gold in the furnace he proved them,
And as a whole burnt offering he accepted them.

And when he had made a collection man by man to the sum of two thousand drachmas of silver, he sent unto Jerusalem to offer a sacrifice for sin, doing therein right well and honorably, in that he took thought for a resurrection. For if he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again, it were superfluous and idle to pray for the dead. (And if *he did it* looking unto an honourable memorial of gratitude laid up for them that die in godliness, holy and godly was the thought.) Wherefore he made the propitiation for them that had died, that they might be released from their sin.

Sadducees, men who hold there is no resurrection, also came up and put a question to him. "Teacher," they said, "Moses has written this law for us, that *if a man's brother dies leaving a wife but no child, his brother is to take the woman and raise offspring for his brother.* Now there were seven brothers. The first married a wife and died leaving no offspring: the second took her and died without leaving any offspring: so did the third:

none of the seven left any offspring. Last of all the woman died too. At the resurrection, when they rise, whose wife will she be? She was wife to the seven of them." Jesus said to them, "Is this not where you go wrong?—you understand neither the scriptures nor the power of God. When people rise from the dead they neither marry nor are married, they are like the angels in heaven.

But, some one will ask, 'How do the dead rise? What kind of body have they when they come?' Foolish man! What you sow never comes to life unless it dies. And what you sow is not the body that is to be; it is a mere grain of wheat, for example, or some other seed. God gives it a body as he pleases, gives each kind of seed a body of its own. Flesh is not all the same; there is human flesh, there is flesh of beasts, flesh of birds, and flesh of fish. There are heavenly bodies and also earthly bodies, but the splendour of the heavenly is one thing and the splendour of the earthly is another. There is a splendour of the sun and a splendour of the moon and a splendour of the stars—for one star differs from another in splendour. So with the resurrection of the dead:

what is sown is mortal,
what rises is immortal;

Then I saw *the new heaven and the new earth,* for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away; and the sea is no more. And I saw *the holy City,* the new *Jerusalem,* descending from God out of heaven, all ready *like a bride arrayed* for her husband. And I heard a loud voice out of the throne, crying,

"*Lo,* God's *dwelling-place* is with men,
with men will he dwell;
they shall be his people,
and God *will* himself *be with them:*
he will wipe every tear from their eyes,
and death shall be no more—
no more *wailing or crying* or pain,
for *the first things* have passed away."

Then *he who was seated on the throne* said, "Lo,

I make all *things new.*" And he said, "Write this: 'these words are trustworthy and genuine.'" Then he said, "All is over! I am the alpha and omega, the First and the Last. I will let *the thirsty* drink of the fountain of *the water of Life without price.* The conqueror shall obtain this, and *I will be his God, and he shall be my son;*

Let not your hearts be disquieted; you believe—believe in God and also in me. In my Father's house there are many abodes; were it not so, would I have told you I was going to prepare a place for you? And when I go and prepare a place for you, I will come back and take you to be with me, so that you may be where I am. And you know the way to where I am going." "Lord," said Thomas, "we do not know where you are going, and how are we to know the way?" Jesus said to him, "I am the real and living way: no one comes to the Father except by means of me.

And this is eternal life, that they know thee, the only real God, and him whom thou hast sent, even Jesus Christ.

We are children of God now, beloved; what we are to be is not apparent yet, but we do know that when he appears, we are to be like him—for we are to see him as he is.[5]

This method is of unlimited application and would enable folks to appreciate the Bible.

5 Jeremiah 16 : 6, 48 : 37 ; Ezekiel 27 : 30 f. ; 43 : 7-9 ; I Samuel 28 : 7-9, 28 : 19 ; Isaiah 14 : 9-23 ; Job 3 : 13-19 ; Ezekiel 32 : 18-32 ; Psalm 88 : 1-5, 139 : 8 ; Daniel 12 : 2 f. ; Isaiah 26 : 19 ; Job 19 : 25-27 ; Wisdom of Solomon 2 : 21-3 : 6 ; II Maccabees 12 : 43-45 ; Mark 12 : 18-27 ; I Corinthians 15 : 35 ff. ; Revelation 21 : 1-7 ; John 14 : 1-6, 17 : 3 ; I John 3 : 2. Quotations from the Moffatt translation with the exception of Apocrypha.

CHAPTER VII

THE SELECTION AND AUTHORIZATION OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The varying lists of the books of the Old Testament found in the manuscripts and the printed editions of the Christian Bible afford little assistance in outlining the process by which the books of the Old Testament were selected and authorized. Late compositions like Chronicles, Esther, some of the Psalms, and Daniel may precede eighth to sixth century writings like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. In pre-Reformation lists of Old Testament books, the so-called apocryphal productions like Tobit and Judith may precede the prophets.

In an apocalyptic Jewish volume dating in its finished form from the early portion of the second century of the Christian era, there is a tale of the writing of four-score and fourteen books in forty days. Thereupon the Most High directs Ezra to keep seventy of the books for the wise among the people but twenty-four of the books are to be published openly.[1] Apparently, Judaism of the second century after Christ was counting the present thirty-nine books as twenty-four.

1 IV Ezra 14 : 42-48.

Toward the end of the first Christian century, an historian of the Jewish people, Josephus by name, was publishing a series of studies. He wrote in Rome and subsequently to the destruction of the city of Jerusalem by Titus. His "Against Apion" contains a paragraph on the holy book of Judaism.

> "We have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from, and contradicting one another but only *twenty-two* books which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. And of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death, for a period of nearly 3,000 years. From the death of Moses until the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life."[2]

Josephus counted the books of the Bible as twenty-two. His Bible seems to exist in three parts. If the final division of Josephus' Jewish Bible was composed of Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, then Joshua,

2 Josephus, "Against Apion I, 8," Margoliouth-Whiston, p. 912.

Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, Job, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles were regarded as books written by prophets. Ruth may have been included with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah.

Some centuries later, the Talmudic arrangement was as follows:

Torah	*Nebiim*	*Kethubim*
Genesis	Joshua	Ruth
Exodus	Judges	Psalms
Leviticus	Samuel	Job
Numbers	Kings	Proverbs
Deuteronomy	Jeremiah	Ecclesiastes
	Ezekiel	Song of Songs
	Isaiah	Lamentations
	The Twelve Prophets	Daniel
		Esther
		Ezra-Nehemiah
		Chronicles

Evidently, later Jews divided their holy book into three sections known as Torah and consisting of five books, Nebiim consisting of eight books and Kethubim consisting of eleven books. The Greek name for Torah is Nomos; the English, law. The Greek name for Nebiim is Prophetai; the English, Prophets. The Greek name for Kethubim is Hagiographa; the English, Holy Writings. The sum of the number of books in these three canons of the Talmudic Bible is twenty-four, agreeing with the statement of Ezra. The time element seems to have played a significant

rôle in the establishment of the three canons. The Samaritans accepted only the Pentateuch. The Sadducees were not especially troubled by the presence of later passages in Isaiah and Daniel involving the hope of a happy survival of death.[3] What is also very noticeable is the appearance of Daniel among the volumes in the last list. Why should Daniel, if it originated in the sixth century before Christ, not appear in the prophetic canon?[4]

With the threefold Talmudic arrangement, the New Testament is in agreement, for it refers to "the Law and the prophets," "Moses and the prophets," and "the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms."[5]

Early in the second century before Christ, the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, or, as it is also called, Ecclesiasticus, was written by a Palestinian Jew. By 130 B.C., this book had been translated into Greek. The translator, a grandson of the original author, prefixed a prologue which refers to "the law and the prophets and the others," "the law and the prophets and the other books of our fathers," "the law itself and the prophecies and the rest of the books." The Jews of the second pre-Christian century recognized three sections in their sacred volume. The

3 Isaiah 25 : 8, 26 : 19 ; Daniel 12 : 2, 3.

4 The five festive rolls : Ruth (Pentecost), Ecclesiastes (Tabernacle), Song of Songs (Passover), Lamentations (Destruction of the Temple), Esther (Purim), belongs to the third canon.

5 Matthew 7 : 12 ; Luke 16 : 29, 31, 24 : 44 ; Matthew 23 : 35, Cf. II Chronicles 24 : 21 and Jeremiah 26 : 23.

law and the prophets seem completed. But the third division is by no means closed.

May the process of the selection and canonization of these three divisions of the Jewish Bible be uncovered? [6]

The Samaritans and orthodox Jews parted company in the fifth century before Christ. The Samaritans recognized only the Pentateuch as holy literature. The time of Ezra settled the canonization of the books of Moses in a general way.

> This Ezra was an expert scribe in the law of Moses which had been given by the Eternal the God of Israel. Thanks to the favour of the Eternal his God, the king had granted him all he asked; he was accompanied to Jerusalem in the seventh year of king Artaxerxes by some Israelites, priests, Levites, singers, warders, and temple attendants, and he reached Jerusalem in the fifth month of the seventh year of the king. He started to travel up from Babylon upon the first day of the first month, and, thanks to the kind favour of his God, he reached Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month. Ezra had set his heart upon studying the law of God, upon obeying it, and upon teaching its rules and regulations in Israel.
>
> Here is a copy of the letter given by king Artaxerxes to Ezra the priest and scribe, the scribe of the Eternal's commands and rules for Israel. "Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven: all greetings,

6 By "canon" is meant a "collection of writings which are recognized by a religious fellowship or society as inspired by God and as providing a rule and standard of faith and life."

whatever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, may demand from you, is to be granted him without delay,

And whoever does not obey the law of your God and the law of the king, let sentence be executed upon him instantly, death, banishment, confiscation of property, or imprisonment."

Now the priests, the Levites, the warders, the singers, the temple attendants, and some of the people were living in Jerusalem, and all Israel in their towns; but when the seventh month arrived, all the people gathered like one man in the open space in front of the water gate, calling upon Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses which the Eternal had imposed upon Israel. So on the first day of the seventh month Ezra the priest and scribe laid the law before the community, both men and women and all who could listen intelligently; he read from it, in the open space in front of the water gate, from early morning to noon, in presence of the men and the women and all who could understand it; they all listened closely to the book of the law.

Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people (for he stood above them all), and when he opened it all the people rose; then Ezra blessed the Eternal, the great God, and all the people answered, "Amen! Amen!" raising their hands; they bowed their heads and fell down before the Eternal with their faces to the ground.

they read from the book, from the law of God, translating as they went and explaining the meaning, so that the people understood what was read.

On the second day all the chiefs of the clans, the priests, and the Levites gathered round Ezra the scribe to study the words of the law.

On the twenty-fourth day of that month the Israelites gathered, fasting and in sackcloth, with

earth thrown on their heads; and the race of Israel separated themselves from all the foreigners, and stood up to confess their sins and the iniquities of their fathers; they rose in their place and read from the book of the law of the Eternal their God, one quarter of the day, while during the other quarter of the day they made their confession and fell down before the Eternal their God.

and every one who had separated from the natives for the law of God, along with their wives and sons and daughters, every one old enough to understand, they all adhered to their fellows, the chiefs swearing, under penalty of a curse, to follow the directions of God given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and fulfil all the commands of the Eternal our Lord, all his rules and regulations; we swore that we would not marry our daughters to the natives of the land, nor marry their daughters to our sons, and that, if the natives of the land brought any wares or food to be sold on the sabbath, we would not buy from them on the sabbath or on a sacred day; also, that we would forego all claims for debt in the seventh year.[7]

But the process completed in the period of Ezra and Nehemiah began as early as the late seventh century before Christ with the authorization of Deuteronomy.

They took back this answer to the king, and the king summoned all the sheikhs of Judah and Jerusalem; he went up to the temple of the Eternal, accompanied by all the men of Judah and all the citizens of Jerusalem, the priests, the prophets, and all the people, young and old. He then read aloud to them all the words of the book of the compact which had been found in the temple of

7 Ezra 7 : 8-12, 21 b, 26; Nehemiah 7 : 73-8 : 3, 5, 6, 8, 13; 9 : 1-3; 10 : 28-31.

> the Eternal, and, standing on the platform, he made a compact in presence of the Eternal to follow the Eternal, to obey his orders and his warnings and his rules heartily and honestly, maintaining the compact laid down in this book. All the people confirmed the compact. Then the king ordered Hilkiah the high-priest and the vice-priest and the warders to bring out of the temple of the Eternal all the vessels made for Baal and Astartê and the star-worship; these he burned outside Jerusalem in the limekiln of Kidron, removing their ashes to Bethel. He put down the pagan priests whom the kings of Judah had appointed to burn incense at the shrines in the townships of Judah and at the shrines round Jerusalem, along with those who burned incense to Baal, to the sun, the moon, the planets, and all the stars. He took the idol of Astartê out of the temple of the Eternal to the Kidron-ravine outside Jerusalem, where he burned it, grinding it to powder and flinging the powder on the graves of the common people. He demolished the houses of the sacred prostitutes who were in the temple of the Eternal, where the women wove tunics for Astartê.[8]

During the two and one-half centuries after Ezra and Nehemiah had wrought, the prophetic selection assumed shape. Ecclesiasticus refers to "the prophets" as if a completed volume were in mind and mentions Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve prophets.[9] The author of Second Maccabees narrates that Nehemiah "gathered together the books about the Kings and prophets, and the books of David."[10] "The kings and prophets" indicates the prophetic canon and "the books of David" hints at the beginnings of the

8 II Kings 23 : 1-7.
9 Ecclesiasticus 48 : 22, 49 : 6, 8, 10 and the prologue.
10 II Maccabees 2 : 13.

"Writings." The second century apocalypse called Daniel says: "I Daniel *noticed in the scriptures* the number of the years which, the Eternal had predicted *to the prophet Jeremiah,* would pass before Jerusalem ceased to lie desolate." [11] Jeremiah was an authorized holy book for the author of Daniel. By the close of the second pre-Christian century, the age of the prophets has come to a close.

> "On that day a fountain shall be opened for David's house and the dwellers in Jerusalem, to cleanse them from sin and impurity. And on that day (the Lord of hosts declares), I will wipe out the names of idols from the land, till they are no more remembered; I will expel the prophets and the spirit of impurity from the land." (If any one still prophesies, then his father and the mother who bore him shall tell him, "You must die, for in the name of the Eternal you are speaking lies"; whereupon his father and the mother who bore him shall stab him as he prophesies.) On that day every prophet shall be ashamed of his vision as he prophesies; he will not wear the leather mantle and deceive people; he will say, "I am no prophet, I am a peasant, the land has been my business from my youth."
>
> "And they pulled down the altar, and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an answer concerning them.
>
> "And there was great tribulation in Israel, such as was not since the time that no prophet appeared unto them.
>
> "And that the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet." [12]

11 Daniel 9 : 2.
12 Zechariah 13 : 1-5 ; I Maccabees 4 : 46, 9 : 27, 14 : 41.

Second Maccabees lets the selection of the "Holy Writings" begin in the period of Nehemiah and with "the books of David." The prologue of Ecclesiasticus refers to the third canon as "the rest of the books," making it very plain that it has not as yet acquired a title and is still fluid. It is in this late division of their holy book that the Jews located the apocalypse of Daniel. Indeed, the limits of this third section of the Jewish canon were not finally determined until long after the death of Jesus. Regarding books like the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther the debate went merrily on. Alexandrian Jews so felt the inferiority of the book of Esther that they made additions thereto.[13]

Canonization did not silence debate upon other books than those in the third section of the Hebrew Bible. The differences between Ezekiel and the Pentateuch caused some anxiety. A Christian writer of the fifth century reports that "the beginning and ending of Ezekiel . . . are involved in so great obscurity that like the commencement of Genesis they are not studied by the Hebrews until they are thirty years old."[14] A prophet like Elijah was expected to come in order to resolve the differences between the books of Moses and Ezekiel. Jonah proved puzzling to Jews of the medieval period because, concerned

13 Wildeboer, "Altest. Kanon," p. 58 ff.
14 Jerome Letter 53 : 8.

with pagans rather than with Israel, it should have been included in the holy scriptures.[15]

Alexandrian Judaism not content with the thirty-nine books of Palestinian Judaism included the so-called Apocrypha in their canon of the Bible.[16]

Canonization of the Old Testament in its earlier stages did not mean the establishment of a holy literalism. The chronology of Genesis according to the Hebrew text differs from that of the Samaritan Pentateuch and that of the Greek translation of the Old Testament. A canonical Torah did not at first signify "*a canonical* text of the Torah." Even Judaism of the period of primitive Christianity had not completely canonized the letter of the Torah. Talmudical Judaism canonized literalism.

The underlying motive for the canonization of the writings of the Old Testament was the desire of devout Jews to live according to the will of Yahweh. Yet "it was not Israel, not the Judaism of Ezra or of the Maccabees that *definitely fixed and established* the Old Testament canon, but only Talmudical Judaism at its early stages for the purpose of self-preservation."[17] The limits of the canon of the Old Testament were finally fixed by Jewish scribism.

15 Wildeboer, "Attest. Kanon," p. 62 f.
16 Daubney, "The Apocrypha," p. 29. "No existing manuscript of the LXX is without the apocryphal books."
17 Cornill, "Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament," p. 482.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMPOSITION AND SELECTION OF GOSPELS

The present Christian Bible contains four gospels in the succession, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. But this arrangement is merely one of a number found in the manuscripts of the New Testament. The Washington Gospels have the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. Other manuscripts have the classification John, Matthew, Mark, Luke or Matthew, John, Mark, Luke and so forth.

There was a time when the Christian community possessed no written gospel as there was likewise a period when it was reading more than four gospels.

Why were gospels written and why were four selected as normative?

Jesus did not write an account of his life and teaching. The disciples were not commissioned to sit down and write but to go out and preach. Paul does not seem familiar with a written gospel. Our earliest gospel was composed some three decades after the death of Jesus. At first a biography of Jesus was not in demand. For the Lord would shortly be present. Those affiliating with the Christian group could be given the

necessary facts orally. The memory of the companions of Jesus sufficed. Moreover, the earliest church was not a group of intellectuals. Folks from the lower strata of society made up the bulk of the membership, although the literate were also represented.[1]

The important thing to observe is that the Christian church antedates the New Testament. In the earliest Christian church experience of Jesus was the decisive thing. There was no New Testament toward which an attitude had to be taken. In the course of the second century, the Christian church undertook a selection of documents which finally became our New Testament.

The first Bible of Christianity was the holy book of Judaism now called the Old Testament. Since Jesus had discovered his view of God in the Old Testament by reinterpreting it, by rejecting literalism, by appealing to the original intention of God, *by discovering the inspiration of personality,* since Jesus had not been revolutionary in his attitude toward the Jewish Bible, his followers naturally took it over. They were soon demonstrating that Jesus of Nazareth was Messiah by

1 I Corinthians 15:23 ff., 11:23; Galatians 2:10; I Corinthians 16:1 ff.; James 2:1 ff.; Acts 17:11; Colossians 3:16; II Timothy 3:15. The purpose of chapters 8-13 was to popularize Harnack's brilliant monograph "Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments." From that study, the author had learned much, and it seemed a pity that the barrier of language and of the World War should prevent American readers from becoming familiar with the significant investigation of von Harnack. After these chapters had thus been prepared, J. R. Wilkinson's translation of Harnack's volume under the title "The Origin of the New Testament" appeared. Hence, the reader who has become interested in this review, appreciation, and popularization of Harnack may now thoroughly absorb Harnack's argument by perusing the "Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments" in this accurate translation.

appealing to the Old Testament. And the Gentile Christian church employed the larger volume of Alexandrian Judaism.[2]

The influence of the personality of Jesus originated Christianity. Jesus placed himself at the converging point of the group organizing about him. His word set aside the sacred tradition of the Jews. His self-consciousness astonished and perplexed folks. He felt himself to be superior to the men of the past. Under his influence, men broke the sacred ties of family and repudiated age-long folk customs and religious practices. Indeed, he had described his disciples as brethren and himself as Master. In the Pauline churches questions at issue were settled by appeal to a word of Jesus.

A perusal of John 14 will leave no doubt as to the primary authority of Jesus in Johannine circles. In II Peter 3:2, the authority of the words of Jesus is equated with that of the Old Testament.[3]

For some time after Jesus, the Christian community depended upon its memory of what Jesus had said and done. But as time rolled on without the presence of the Lord, as one after another of the companions of Jesus died or suffered martyrdom, the need of a permanent record became apparent. The church needed a statement that

2 Mark 10:2 ff.; Acts 2; Justin, "Apology" 31, Dialogue 68, 71, 84, Irenæus III, 21:3.
3 Matthew 23:8; I Corinthians 7:10, 9:14, 7:12, 25; I Thessalonians 4:15-17.

could be transmitted to the future. Moreover, as the church expanded and preachers could not be everywhere, the written word might become the universal word. The oral tradition had centered on what Jesus had taught and what Jesus had accomplished. Hence, collections of sayings of Jesus originated, material like the sermon on the mount and the parables. This collection of material is often referred to as "Q." Hence, also, simple narratives of the principal facts in the career of Jesus, events like his baptism, periods of labor, last week, death and resurrection, appeared. This type of material is represented in such a gospel as Mark.

The next step would be the production of a more comprehensive gospel like our Matthew and Luke, combining sayings of Jesus and narratives of the acts of Jesus.

We must bear in mind, then, that there are various stages in the writing of the gospels. Jesus spoke Aramaic and his earliest companions were Aramaic-speaking Jews. Oral narratives of the teachings and life of Jesus formed in the Aramaic language. These narratives were translated into Greek. Then Greek sayings of Jesus and Greek lives of Jesus appeared. Thereupon such gospels as our Matthew and our Luke were written.[4]

4 Burney, "The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel"; Torrey, *Harvard Review*, October, 1923, pp. 305 ff.; Mark 5:41, 7:34; Matthew 27:46, 16:17; Acts 21:37-22:2; I Corinthians 16:22; Romans 8:15.

What is the evidence for these assertions?

"Many have undertaken to compose a narrative of those matters which have reached fulfilment among us, as they were transmitted to us by those who were the original eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. After tracing everything accurately from the first, I also resolved to write a connected account for you, most excellent Theophilus. May it convince you of the dependableness of the tradition with which you have become familiar." Thus a Christian, writing some four decades after the death of Jesus, reminded his friend that he had used existing gospels as sources for his own narrative. But he had made a critical examination of them and selected only such material as appeared trustworthy. The immediate sources employed by the author of the Gospel according to Luke were narratives based upon data ultimately furnished in the main by eyewitnesses of the ministry of Jesus.

The interdependence of the synoptic gospels follows from the same framework underlying Matthew, Mark, and Luke, from passages revealing complete verbal similarity, and from the manner in which quotations from the Old Testament are altered in the same way.[5]

Recent study of the problem of the interdependence of the synoptic gospels confirms the use of common and distinct sources by Matthew and

[5] Matthew 3 : 7-10 and Luke 3 : 7-9 ; Mark 2 : 23-28 ; Matthew 12 : 1-8 ; Luke 6 : 1-5 ; Mark 13 : 28-31 and Matthew 24 : 32 ff. ; Mark 1 : 3 ; Matthew 3 : 3 ; Luke 3 : 4.

Luke. One common source was Mark; another, a body of discourse material. Both Matthew and Luke made use of various other sources.[6]

It must be evident that the interpretation of any passage in the synoptic gospels immediately raises the question of source. When the same material appears in Matthew, Mark, Luke, it usually follows that the testimony is not threefold. Until the character of the underlying source is discovered, conclusions are hazardous. The dependence of one gospel upon another implies a very natural method of composition. It would also seem that any existing gospel was understood to be the possession of the Christian community. Of course there was liberty in the employment of documents.[7]

The ultimate stage in the writing of gospels

6 The interdependence of the synoptic gospels was early recognized. Late in the second century, a Syrian Christian called Tatian composed a Diatessaron. He merely interwove the narrative of the four gospels. He divided the gospel material into fifty-five sections, omitting and duplicating material. This Diatessaron begins with John 1 : 15 followed by Luke 1 : 5-80. The second section contains Matthew 1 : 18-25 a, Luke 2 : 1-39. The third section contains Matthew 2 : 1 b-23, Luke 2 : 40-3 : 3, Matthew 3 : 1 b-3 a, Luke 3 : 4 b-6, John 1 : 7-17 in succession. Any one disposed to continue the study will find a translation of Tatian's work in the "Ante-Nicene Fathers," IX, pp. 35 ff.

By the fourth century a method of locating parallel gospel material had been devised. The margin of some manuscripts (e.g., Sinaiticus) contains the Eusebian canons and sections. Gregory's "Textkritik," pp. 861 ff., gives these canons and sections: Alpha contains all material common to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; Beta that common to Matthew, Mark, Luke; Gamma that common to Matthew, Luke, John; Delta that common to Matthew, Mark, John; Epsilon that common to Matthew and Luke; Digamma that common to Matthew and Mark; Zeta that common to Matthew and John; Eta that common to Luke and Mark; Theta that common to Luke and John; Iota that peculiar to Matthew, to Mark, to Luke, to John. On the basis of these canons and sections, any one familiar with Greek could readily locate parallel gospel material.

7 Compare Mark 2 : 18 with Matthew 9 : 14 and Luke 5 : 33; Matthew 5-7 with Luke 6 : 20 ff. Consider also the various conclusions of Mark's gospel. The same liberty prevails in New Testament quotations from the Old Testament. In I Corinthians 14 : 20-22, Paul completely reinterprets Isaiah 28 : 11 ff. It would be difficult to find I Corinthians 15 : 45 in Genesis 2 : 7.

was the production of such as sought to interpret the career and significance of Jesus. This final type of gospel is represented in the New Testament by the Gospel of John.

The traditional theory regarding the existence of the fourfold gospel is that because there are four gospels there had to be four gospels. Irenæus helped popularize this view.

> "It is not possible that the gospels be either more or fewer than they are. For since there are four regions of the world in which we live, and four principal winds, and the Church is scattered over the whole earth, and the pillar and ground of the Church is the Gospel and the Spirit of Life, it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing forth immortality on every side and giving life to men. From this it is evident that the Word, the Artificer of all, who sitteth upon the cherubim and who contains all things and was manifested to men, has given us the Gospel under four forms, but bound together by one Spirit. As also David says when he prayed for His coming: 'Thou that sittest between the cherubim, shine forth.' For the cherubim, also, were four-faced and their faces were images of the dispensation of the Son of God. For he says, 'The first living creature was like a lion,' symbolizing His effectual working, leadership, and royal

> power; and the second was like a calf, symbolizing His sacrificial and sacerdotal order; but the 'third had, as it were, the face of a man,' evidently describing His coming as a human being; 'the fourth was like a flying eagle,' pointing out the gift of the Spirit hovering over the Church."[8]

Irenæus goes on to identify Matthew with the man, Mark with the flying eagle, Luke with the calf, and John with the lion. An innocent statement in Ezekiel or the Revelation of John has been transformed by the proof-text method into a prediction of the fourfold gospel.[9]

But in spite of Irenæus, four gospels survive out of a much larger number. The artificiality of the reasoning of Irenæus is apparent. No gospel was born canonical. The last chapter of the gospel of John eloquently witnesses that there was at that time no fourfold gospel. "It is this disciple who testifies to these things and who wrote them down, and we know his testimony is true."[10] Some person or group of persons bear witness to the historicity of the gospel of John! If "John" wrote his gospel as one part of a fourfold gospel, why is this protest necessary and why is there no consciousness of a fourfold gospel on the part of those who were responsible for this statement?

8 See the entire section in Ayer, "Source-Book for Ancient Church History," pp. 120 ff.
9 Ezekiel 1 : 10, 10 : 14, 41 : 19; Revelation 4 and 5.
10 John 21 : 24.

When Luke composed his gospel, he had no idea that it would be included in an authoritative collection of four gospels normative for faith and practice, else he could not have critically examined, rearranged, and modified his sources. Indeed, the sources of Luke have with one exception disappeared. Canonicity would have protected them. Papias, writing in the second quarter of the second century, criticized as he defended Mark and Matthew. Such an attitude implies a debate between defenders of the synoptic gospels and the gospel of John.

> "But now we must add to the words of his which we have already quoted, the tradition which he gives in regard to Mark, the author of the gospel. It is in the following words: 'This also the presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterwards, as I said, he followed Peter, *who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers,* but with no intention of giving a *connected account of the Lord's discourses* (or oracles), so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to

> state any of them falsely.' These things are related by Papias concerning Mark. But concerning Matthew he writes as follows: 'So then Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able.' And the same writer uses testimonies from the first epistle of John, and from that of Peter likewise." [11]

The loose quotation of gospel material in the Apostolic Fathers as well as the tendency of the gospel text to remain fluid until about the middle of the second century further indicate that a long period of time was required to make inspiration verbal. Three phrases in the Didache reveal the evolution of authority: "the Lord said," "the Lord commanded in his Gospel," "according to the dogma of the Gospel." [12]

There were other gospels than the canonical four current in early Christian times. Some of these gospels, like the Gospel of Peter, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel according to the Egyptians resemble the canonical gospels. But most of these gospels are of very secondary and third-rate value. The Protevangelion assigned to James, for example, "is obviously dependent upon the canonical gospels, not in the sense of supplementing their lacunæ, but of explaining difficulties which occur in them." The

11 McGiffert's translation, Eusebius "Church History," III, 39.
12 Didache 9 : 5, 8 : 2, 11 : 3.

lacunæ in the earlier gospels invited attention. But these gospels also show what Christians were thinking about and where their interest centered.

In the last year of the eleventh century a Syrian Christian informed a western priest that the Gospel of Peter had predicted the first crusade. As late as the eleventh century, then, some Christians held this gospel in high regard. In the eighth century it was still in circulation. Theodoret supplies the information that it was used by Jewish Christians living in Syria in the fifth century. In the time of Serapion, bishop of Antioch, the gospel of Peter was used in public worship by the church at Rhossus. This gospel is dated about 130-150. A fragment was discovered in an Egyptian tomb late in the nineteenth century. It contains the narrative of the passion from the trial before the Roman procurator to the resurrection. The interesting point is that it follows the Gospel of Mark for the story of the resurrection. If a comparison of the Gospel of Peter and our four gospels covering Mark 16:1-8 is made, it is readily discernible that the Gospel of Mark is the source of the Gospel of Peter. The original conclusion of Mark's gospel has disappeared. Some manuscripts terminate at Mark 16:8; some give us the present or "longer conclusion"; some give a shorter conclusion; another gives two conclusions, and the Freer-Washington manuscript has the present conclusion plus the following insertion:

"And they answered, saying, 'This age of unrighteousness and unbelief is under the (power of) Satan, which does not permit the things which are (made) impure by the (evil) spirits to comprehend the truth of God (and) his power. For this reason reveal thy righteousness now,' they said to Christ, and Christ replied to them: 'The limit of the years of the power of Satan has been fulfilled, but other terrible things are near at hand; and I was delivered unto death on behalf of those who sinned, in order that they may return to the truth and sin no more, to the end that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness (which is) in heaven. But go ye into all the world." [13]

Some scholars think the Gospel of Peter still used the original conclusion of the Gospel of Mark for the remainder of the resurrection narrative. The fragment continues:

"Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many went forth returning to their homes, as the feast ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved: and each one grieving for that which was come to pass departed to his home. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew, my brother, took our nets and went away to the sea; and there was with us Levi, the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord . . ."

Unfortunately the fragment breaks off here, else we might be in possession of an ending nearer the original conclusion of Mark's gospel than any we now possess.

Three recent translations of the New Testament render John 19:13 in such a way as to let Pilate seat Jesus on the tribunal as the completion

13 Sanders's translation.

of his mocking of the accused Nazarene. The Gospel of Peter agrees with this, when it says, "They said, Let us drag along the son of God . . . and they set Him on the judgment seat."[14]

The Gospel according to the Hebrews was still used as scripture by Jewish Christians in the time of Jerome and was translated by him into Greek and Latin. Eusebius refers to it as the gospel "with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted."[15] It was quoted by Clement of Alexandria with the formula, "it is written." It was composed in the Aramaic language before A.D. 125. A Greek translation was current in Egypt before the end of the second century. The following fragment on the baptism of Jesus is very significant:

> "It came to pass when the Lord ascended out of the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit came down and rested upon him and said to him, My son in all the prophets I was awaiting thee that thou shouldest come and that I should rest in thee. For thou art my rest; thou art my first-born, who reignest to eternity."

The Protevangelion assigned to James is an attempt to deal with difficulties of the gospel narrative. It illustrates how much easier it was to spin stories about the childhood of Jesus than to fashion sayings of Jesus. It is a composite of three separate writings, describing the life of the Blessed Virgin to the slaughter of the innocents.

14 Moffatt, Goodspeed, Montgomery.
15 Eusebius, "Church History," III, 25.

The "Lord's brethren" are said to be children of Joseph by a former marriage. Mary is described as a virgin living in the temple and *Jesus as both supernaturally conceived and supernaturally born* in a cave near Bethlehem.[16]

The Abgar legend indicates how later Christians could be imposed upon. Abgar, toparch of Edessa, is represented as inviting Jesus to come thither to heal him. Jesus in a written reply points out the impossibility of interrupting his work in Palestine, but promises to send one of his disciples who will both heal Abgar and bring salvation to that region. The correspondence is found in Eusebius,[17] and is to be dated late in the third Christian century. Even in the time of Charlemagne, the authenticity of the correspondence was not generally accepted. But that did not prevent its subsequent use as an amulet—a practice demonstrable to the nineteenth century. In 1876, a Christian scholar still defended the authenticity of the Abgar correspondence.

Under the title of "Gospel of Nicodemus" a rather interesting accumulation of tradition is encountered. It purports to be an account of the trial of Jesus, the action of the sanhedrin, and the descent into Hades. The source of all existing texts *originated in the fifth century.* Eusebius, writing in the fourth century, knew only Acts of Pilate forged by pagans in derision of Christian-

16 Pick, "The Extra-canonical Life of Christ," pp. 48-51 or "Ante Nicene Fathers," VIII.
17 Eusebius, "Church History," I, 13.

ity during the persecution in the time of Maximinus. Tertullian assumes that Pilate became Christian in his convictions and "sent word of him to the reigning Cæsar who was at that time Tiberius," Justin refers to some "Acts of Pilate."[18] The silence of the canonical gospels regarding Pilate's relation to Jesus subsequent to the trial and crucifixion permitted various legends to develop. Tiberius was described as condemning Pilate for letting the crucifixion occur. Pilate's wife was regarded as becoming a convert to Christianity. Indeed, the Greek church even sainted her. Naturally Pilate as an official of the imperial government must have reported the matter of the crucifixion to the reigning Cæsar! In the fifth century such a document was actually current! *But the surprising element in the situation is that the spurious fifth century letter should be quoted as authentic in the twentieth century.*[19]

Let us collect the evidence for the existence of a fourfold gospel canon. Origen recognizes only our four gospels as canonical. Clement of Alexandria discriminates between our four gospels and the gospel according to the Egyptians. Ter-

[18] Tertullian, "Apology," 21, Justin, "Apology," 35, 48. The eighth volume of the "Ante Nicene Fathers," pp. 416 ff., contains a translation of the two Greek and one Latin versions of the Acts of Pilate and the one Greek and two Latin versions of the Descent to Hell. The spurious Letter of Pilate to Claudius (Tiberius) is found in volume VIII, p. 454, p. 459, p. 480 f.

[19] Four articles in Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible," amply cover the Agrapha, or extra-canonical sayings of Jesus (V, 343-352), and the Apocryphal Gospels (V. 420-438; 338-342; III, 544 ff.). For more extensive quotations from these gospels, see Pick, "The Extra-Canonical Life of Christ" (Funk and Wagnalls, 1903), Donehoo, "Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ" (Macmillan, 1903), and the "Ante Nicene Fathers," VIII, pp. 349 ff. See especially, Findlay, "Byways in Early Christian Literature."

tullian accepts our four gospels. Tatian's Diatessaron, about 170, was a digest of our four gospels and other Christian tradition. The Old Latin translation likewise testifies to the existence of a fourfold gospel. The statement of Irenæus was cited earlier in this chapter. The Muratorian Fragment, late second century, contains the earliest canonical list of the New Testament books and enumerates four gospels: "the third book of the gospels, that according to Luke . . . the fourth of the gospels is John's, one of the disciples." Gospel manuscripts in the middle of the second century were arranged on the fourfold basis. The Shepherd of Hermas, about the middle of the second century, witnesses to the fourfold gospel thus: "And whereas thou sawest her (the church) seated on a couch, the position is a firm one; for the couch has four feet and standeth firmly." The longer conclusion of Mark's gospel was probably in existence by about A.D. 125. If it was added in connection with the formation of the gospel canon, that process would seem to have begun in the first quarter of the second century.

The gospels had originated in different parts of the Mediterranean world and at different times. They became more generally known and circulated side by side for a time. The fourfold list was probably constituted at Ephesus. It should be borne in mind that Ephesus or Rome had a fixed gospel canon before, say, Syria. The ex-

istence of a fourfold gospel at one center of Christianity does not prove its existence elsewhere. Serapion, bishop of Antioch, about 200, permitted the Christians of Rhossus to read the Gospel of Peter as holy Scripture. Serapion evidently had no closed gospel canon. And since Tatian compiled his Diatessaron from our four gospels, I Corinthians 11:22 ff., Acts 1:18 and other material, it is plain that the text was still fluid for him.[20]

When the four gospels had been selected, they were looked upon as one gospel. An underlying unity was discovered for the four standardized gospels. Irenæus puts it: "the Word . . . has given us the Gospel under four forms, but bound together by one Spirit." The Muratorian Fragment says: "And therefore, though various elements are taught in the several books of the gospels, yet it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since by one guiding Spirit all things are declared in all of them." The gospel codex contained "the gospel" once as heading with an "according to Matthew" over Matthew's gospel, an "according to Mark" over Mark's gospel, an "according to Luke" over Luke's gospel, and an "according to John" over John's gospel. The *gospel is one* with a fourfold approach. The Marcionites secured the one gospel by adopting and recognizing only a mutilated Luke. The

20 Origen, ca. 185-254, Scholion on Luke 1:1; Clement, died about 220, Stromata III, 13, 93; Tertullian, ca. 160-230, Against Marcion IV, 5; Shepherd of Hermas, Vis. III, 13:3; Eusebius, VI, 12:2.

younger Basilidians used Luke and John as scripture. Tatian fashioned one gospel by interweaving the four and adding passages from other documents. And Tatian's Diatessaron was holy scripture for the Syrian church for centuries. One gospel called for no explanation. The Christians desired one gospel. The gospel must be one.

We add that this feeling characterized the later development and give two instances. The Liber Pontificalis I, says: "The whole source of the four gospels which were confirmed by inquiring of him (Peter) and obtaining his testimony; although one gospel is couched in Greek, another in Hebrew, another in Latin, yet by his testimony were all confirmed." Luther says: "It is not right to count four evangelists and four gospels, for everything written by the apostles is one gospel." [21]

When the differences within the gospels were recognized, the presence of four gospels presented a problem. The duration of the public ministry of Jesus could be debated because of the one passover of the synoptic gospels and the three of the gospel of John.[22] The crucifixion of Jesus could be dated Nisan 14 or 15 according as John or the synoptic gospels were consulted.

Consider the descriptions of the baptism of Jesus as recorded in the four gospels of [23]

21 Weimar, "Ausgabe" XII, 259.
22 Luke 4 : 19; John 2 : 13, 6 : 14, 13 : 1 (5 : 1).
23 Mark 1 : 10 f.; Matthew 3 : 16 f.; Luke 3 : 21 f.; John 1 : 31-34.

Mark

And the moment he rose from the water he saw the heavens cleft and the Spirit coming down upon him like a dove; then said a voice from heaven,

'Thou art my Son, the Beloved,
in thee is my delight.'

Matthew

Now when Jesus had been baptized, the moment he rose out of the water, the heavens opened and he saw the Spirit of God coming down like a dove upon him. And a voice from heaven said,

"This is my Son, the Beloved, in him is my delight."

Luke

Now when all the people had been baptized and when Jesus had been baptized and was praying, heaven opened and the holy Spirit descended in bodily form like a dove upon him; and a voice came from heaven,

"Thou art my son, the Beloved,
to-day have I become thy father."

John

"I myself did not recognize him; I only came to baptize with water, in order that he might be disclosed to Israel." And John bore this testimony also: "I saw the Spirit descend like a dove from heaven and rest on him. I myself did not recognize him, but He who sent me to baptize with water told me, 'He on whom you see the Spirit descending and resting, that is he who baptizes with the holy Spirit.' Now I did see it, and I testify that he is the Son of God."

There are tremendous variations here ranging from something like a subjective experience of Jesus to an objective experience for John and a veiling over of Jesus' baptism as well as a declaration of an ethical sonship beginning at the moment of baptism.

Matthew's description of Jesus walking on the water is parallel to that of Mark. But Matthew

adds the incident of Peter's futile attempt to walk upon the waters—an incident which is lacking in both John and Mark.[24]

Why should both Luke and Mark omit "Now I tell you, Peter is your name and on this rock I will build my church; the powers of Hades shall not succeed against it. I will give you the keys of the Realm of heaven; whatever you prohibit on earth will be prohibited in heaven, and whatever you permit on earth will be permitted in heaven"?[25]

Why do Matthew and Mark report the incident of the blind man or men at Jericho in connection with Jesus' departure from Jericho and Luke in connection with Jesus' approach to Jericho?[26]

Such variations within the gospels are very frequent. The process of harmonization obliterated these differences. For centuries the Syrian church used only a harmonized gospel. Why did not the entire church proceed to produce a single unified gospel out of the different four? Why were the four separate gospels with all their variations retained?

The solution of this problem is suggested by a second century document called II Peter.[27] "This is the second letter I have already written to you, beloved, stirring up your pure mind by way of reminder, to have you recollect the words spoken

24 Matthew 14 : 28-33 ; Mark 6 : 47 ff. ; John 6 : 16 ff.
25 Matthew 16 : 18 f. See Mark 8 : 27-30 and Luke 9 : 18-21.
26 Matthew 20 : 29 ; Mark 10 : 46 ; Luke 18 : 35.
27 II Peter 3 : 2.

by the holy prophets beforehand and the command given by your apostles from the Lord and saviour." One gospel would be valuable for its contents, for its reminiscences of the life and teachings of Jesus. Several gospels would be valuable not only on account of their contents but because they were guaranteed by apostles. The *reliable apostolic tradition was the important matter.* Here is a gospel according to Matthew, another according to Mark, another according to Luke, another according to John. Combine them into one gospel. What shall that gospel be called? What apostolic name vouches for the one gospel, when all the apostolic names—Matthew, Mark (Peter), Luke (Paul), John—have disappeared during the process of harmonization? Assume that one name could be assigned to the harmony, yet four apostolic names are superior to one! The appeal to apostolic tradition necessitated the retention of four gospels.

During the long and bitter quarrel with Gnosticism, the Christian church was compelled to disprove Gnostic assumptions and to demonstrate its own claims. It learned to appeal to an "apostolic" creed, canon, and episcopate. Consider Tertullian's argument against Marcionism:

> ". . . whereas Marcion's gospel is not known to most people, and to none whatever is it known without being condemned. Of course it has its churches, but they are its own; they are as late as they are spurious. Should you want to know their origin, you will more easily discover *apos-*

tasy in it than apostolicity, with Marcion, forsooth, as their founder or some one of Marcion's swarm. Even wasps make combs; so, also, these Marcionites make churches. *The same authority of the apostolic churches* will afford evidence to other gospels, also, which we possess equally through their means and according to their usage —I mean the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Matthew, but that *which Mark published may be affirmed to* be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was. *For even the Digest of Luke men usually ascribe to Paul.* And it may well seem that the works which disciples publish belong to their masters." [28]

The apostles guaranteed the gospels. "We," says Bishop Serapion of Antioch, "receive Peter and *the other apostles as Christ,*" and long before this Ignatius had written "seek earnestly to be confirmed in the ordinances of *Christ and the apostles.*" [29]

28 Ayer, "Source-Book," etc., pp. 122 f.
29 Eusebius VI, 12 : 3; Ignatius, Magnesians 13 : 1, 6 : 1; Trallians 3 : 1; Clement 42 : 1; Matthew 16 : 18 ff.; Galatians 4 : 14; Revelation 21 : 14.

CHAPTER IX

EARLY CHRISTIAN CORRESPONDENCE AND ITS AUTHORIZATION

Christianity was a missionary religion. It was perfectly natural for the pioneers of Christianity to attempt to keep in touch with the Christian communities planted by them. Personal visits did not suffice, and therefore epistolary correspondence was resorted to. The New Testament contains a deposit of this literature in the epistles of Paul, the epistle to the Hebrews, and the Catholic epistles.

The epistles assigned to Paul were formerly fourteen in number because Hebrews was regarded as Pauline. Of the present thirteen Pauline epistles, the nine first in the list are addressed to churches, the remaining four to individuals. The longest Pauline epistles are I Corinthians and Romans. The succession of the letters to individuals corresponds to their size. In general, this is true of the letters to churches. The alphabet may have played a rôle in the arrangement of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians.

Paul's letters follow a rather precise arrangement. The address and salutation naturally appear first: Galatians 1:1-5, I Thessalonians 1:1,

I Corinthians 1:1-3, II Corinthians 1:1, 2, Romans 1:1-7. The thanksgiving follows: I Thessalonians 1:2-10, I Corinthians 1:4-9, II Corinthians 1:3-7, 8-11, Colossians 1:3-5, Romans 1:8-15. The didactic, argumentative, doctrinal section is usually the longest portion of the letter: Galatians 2:15-5:12, I Thessalonians 1:11-5:11, I Corinthians 1:10-15:58, Romans 1:18-11:36. The hortatory or ethical division is the practical section of a Pauline letter: Galatians 5:13-6:10, I Thessalonians 5:12-24, Romans 12:1-15:13. The Pauline letter concludes with personal messages and benediction: Galatians 6:11-18, I Thessalonians 5:25-28, I Corinthians 16.

Galatians 6:11, II Thessalonians 3:17, Philemon 19 indicate that Paul was accustomed to dictate his letters.

All of the extant letters of Paul were written after he had been a Christian many years. They represent the oft-repeated conclusions of the mature Paul. To discover great progress in the thinking of Paul between the composition of Galatians and Romans, a matter of a decade or less, and to neglect the preceding period of almost two decades seems strongly arbitrary. It was during the period preceding the composition of his extant correspondence that Paul arrived at his major theological convictions. It was during this period of pioneer missionary work that Paul made his theological readjustment. And from

this formative period, no letter survives. How Paul came to reach his Christological conclusions may be debated precisely because material enabling the student to trace his development is lacking. That very significant epoch in the career of Paul is hardly noticed in Acts or the Pauline letters.[1] It was during these years that Paul learned how to deal with folks of many different temperaments.[2]

Paul's correspondence is often regarded as a theological syllabus. But the man who transplanted the Christian religion into the Græco-Roman civilization was a prophet and missionary rather than a dogmatist. Engaged in saving Christianity from the short circuit of Jewish ceremonialism, confronted by a vigorous, reactionary propaganda, with an apostolate bounded by world limits, he found little time for dogmatic treatises. Paul did not write epistles in the sense of having a later public in view or the future for an audience. He wrote letters to his own churches to meet some particular need. His correspondence was confidential, natural, personal, a heart-to-heart affair. His letters were born under peculiar circumstances, addressed to particular situations, intended for certain persons and to achieve particular aims. Paul wrote I Corinthians 5 to meet a distressing situation in the church at Corinth. It should greatly help us to

1 Galatians 1 : 21; Acts 15 : 23, 41; II Corinthians 11 : 23 ff.; Romans 16 : 7 ff.; I Corinthians 9 : 20.

2 I Thessalonians 1 : 7 ff., 2 : 19; II Thessalonians 1 : 4; II Corinthians 1 : 14, 3 : 2; Romans 1 : 8, 15 : 14 ff.; Philippians 2 : 16, 4 : 1.

appreciate the utterances of Paul, if we always observed their setting. Philippians 2:5-11, over which the theological heavy artillery has fired many shots, is a bit of a warm exhortation. Colossians 1:15 ff. is a portion of a prayer. I Corinthians 13 is a suggestion due to the controversy regarding speaking in tongues. Paul never anticipated that a passage like Galatians 5:1-12 would be examined by twentieth century critics. He wrote some paragraphs against the background of a quarrel with Corinth that would depreciate him if considered apart from that context.

> "And who is qualified for this career? I am, for I am not like most, adulterating the word of God; like a man of sincerity, like a man of God. I speak the word in Christ before the very presence of God. Am I beginning again to 'commend' myself? Do I need, like some people, to be commended by written certificates either to you or from you?
>
> "If I 'appeal' to the interests of men, then, it is with the fear of the Lord before my mind. What I am is plain to God without disguise, plain also, I trust, to your own conscience. This is not 'recommending myself to you again'; it is giving you an incentive to be proud of me, which you can use against men who are proud of externals instead of the inward reality. 'I am beside myself,' am I? Well, that is between myself and God. I am 'sore,' am I? Well, that is in your interests.
>
> "In fact, if I did pain you by that letter I do not regret it. I did regret it when I discovered that my letter had pained you even for the time being, but I am glad now—not glad that you were pained but glad that your pain induced you to repent.

> "I repeat, no one is to think me a fool; but even so, pray bear with me, fool as I am, that I may have my little boast as well as others." [3]

But all this does not signify that Paul did not avail himself of the art of essayist or poet or orator or preacher to bring home his point. There are many sections in the Pauline correspondence not due to the mood of the moment but to years of reflection and to frequent repetition.

Unless Paul suddenly acquired the epistolary art after about one-half of his Christian career had been lived, he was writing letters between his conversion and the letter to the Galatians or the first letter to the Thessalonians. All of these letters have vanished. The letter Paul wrote to the Corinthians before sending the present I Corinthians seems to have been lost. What Colossians 4:16 signifies is not perfectly clear. But II Thessalonians implies a number of letters not extant.[4]

The Epistle to the Hebrews, which may be a homily, owes its presence in the New Testament to association with the Pauline letters. It makes no claim to hail from Paul and does not begin as a letter. The author belonged to the second generation of Christians and spoke to Gentile Christians.[5] Hebrews was composed prior to A.D. 96, since Clement makes use of a part of the first chapter.[6]

3 II Corinthians 2:17 ff., 5:11 ff., 7:8 f., 11:16.
4 I Corinthians 5:9; II Thessalonians 2:15, 3:17.
5 Hebrews 2:3 ff.
6 Clement 36, Hebrews 1:5-14.

The title "Catholic Epistles" met with as early as the third century does not imply the universal acceptance of these epistles, but merely has reference to their more general nature as compared with the particular Pauline letters.[7] I Peter, James, and I John form the triumvirate among these seven epistles. II Peter depends upon Jude. The very late origin of some of these catholic epistles is no longer debated. II Peter, for example, assumes the existence of a canon of Paul's letters and their misuse by heretics. Origen is probably the first Christian writer to testify to the existence of II Peter.

Other early Christian epistolary literature includes I Clement, the Ignatian correspondence, the epistle of Barnabas, and the epistle of Polycarp—a portion of the so-called "apostolic fathers." Clement is a long epistle sent by the church at Rome to the church at Corinth in the closing decade of the first century of the Christian era. It was composed about A.D. 96. The Codex Alexandrinus preserved it in the original Greek. Its wide perusal is indicated by the translation into Latin, Syriac, and Coptic. The seven epistles ascribed to Ignatius are Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp and originated early in the second century. They assume the existence of the monarchical episcopate. The Epistle of Barnabas appears in the Codex Sinaiticus after the Revelation of John. It makes use of a document known

7 Eusebius II, 23, 24 f.; Origen.

as the Two Ways and is a superlative voucher for the allegorical interpretation. Second and third century Christians assigned it to Barnabas, the companion of Paul. It must be dated before the fifth decade of the second century. The Epistle of Polycarp of Smyrna, addressed to the Philippians, was written between A.D. 107-117 and is valuable for its quotations from New Testament writings.

How did some of the epistles surveyed in this chapter come to be selected and authorized?

Paul wrote letters to individual Christian churches located in various parts of the Mediterranean world. These letters came into circulation through migratory Christians. A member of the church at Rome present some Lord's Day at Philippi heard Paul's letter to the Philippians read and suggested an exchange. By the last decade of the first century, a Christian in the church at Rome knows that Paul wrote to the Corinthians. In the same way, the letters of Ignatius were early gathered and circulated. "Both you and Ignatius," says Polycarp, "wrote to me that if any one was going to Syria he should also take your letters. . . . We send you as you asked, the letters of Ignatius which were sent to us by him and others which we had by us." [8]

II Peter 3:15, 16 implies the existence of a collection of Pauline letters. Marcion in the fifth

8 I Clement 47:1 ff.; Ignatius, Ephesians 12:2; Romans 4:3; Polycarp to the Philippians 3:2, 11:2 f., 12:1, 13:2; Eusebius 4:23.

decade of the second century drew up a list of Pauline letters. Marcion's New Testament was composed of "Gospel" and "Apostolicon." The "Gospel" referred to was Luke. The "Apostolicon" contained ten Pauline letters: Galatians, I and II Corinthians, Romans, I and II Thessalonians, Laodiceans, Colossians, Philippians, Philemon.[9]

Some three decades after Marcion, a Roman Christian stated that Paul wrote to seven churches, enumerating I and II Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, I and II Thessalonians, Romans and adding Philemon, Titus, I and II Timothy.

In the neighborhood of A.D. 170, Tatian gave attention to the Old Testament, gospels, *Paul's epistles.*

On July 7, 180, some Christians of Scili in Africa were in court. On being asked what they had in their box, they replied: "The books *and the letters of Paul, a righteous man.*"

It would seem that after Marcion had drawn up a list of Pauline writings, the church was in self-defense compelled to agree upon an authorized list of Paul's letters. That list was made during the latter portion of the second century and contained thirteen or fourteen letters assigned to Paul. Of these Philemon, regarded as a business letter, was but gradually approved. The national

[9] In the "Zeitschrift fuer die Neutest. Wissenschaft," 1925, pp. 56-77, Mundle of Marburg seriously questions the assignment of the "Marcionite Prologues" to Marcion.

Syrian church did not recognize Philemon until the beginning of the fifth century. Ephræm did not comment on Philemon.

Toward the end of the second century some of the Catholic Epistles begin to be regarded as canonical.

CHAPTER X

SOME ACTS OF THE APOSTLES READ IN EARLY CHRISTIAN CIRCLES

The Epistle of Clement written during the last decade of the first century affords the first marked trace of the canonical Acts of the Apostles. The Muratorian Fragment, late second century, thus describes canonical Acts:

> "The Acts, however, of all the Apostles are written in one book. Luke puts it shortly, 'to the most excellent Theophilus,' that the several things were done in his own presence, as he also plainly shows by leaving out the passion of Peter and also the departure of Paul from the city (Rome) on his journey to Spain."[1]

The New Testament Acts of the Apostles describes the expansion of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome. In the first twelve chapters, the scene is Syria-Palestine and the more prominent personality is Peter. In the remaining sixteen chapters, the world mission of Paul is described. Regarding some of the apostles, the Book of Acts is silent.

1 Ayer, "Source-Book," etc., p. 118.

Marcion and the Severians rejected the canonical Acts.[2] Clement of Alexandria did not employ it. The *Catalogus Claromontanus* places Acts after the Revelation of John. From the late second century on, Rome, Asia, Africa, and Gaul recognize the canonicity of Acts. In addition to the canonical Acts of the Apostles, many "Acts" are referred to in early Christian circles and numerous fragments survive. These apocryphal Acts of the Apostles begin to appear as early as the second century. The Acts of John, written after the middle of the second century, may be the earliest of the apocryphal Acts. Origen was acquainted with Acts of Paul which were in good repute in the Christian church. Eusebius mentions Acts of Peter, Paul, Andrew, John and other apostles, and locates the Pauline Acts in the "lowest class of catholic writings."[3] Leo I wanted these Acts of the Apostles "utterly swept away and burned." But this kind of literature was still in the eleventh century "the favorite reading of Christians from Ireland to the Abyssinian mountains and from Persia to Spain."

One of the most interesting of these "Acts" is the Acts of Paul. They are of Catholic origin and were regarded as canonical in Alexandria and elsewhere. Eusebius, the *Catalogus Claromontanus,* Rabbula of Edessa recognized their

2 Eusebius, IV, 295.

3 The extant material may be found in Hennecke, "Neu-testamentliche Apokryphen," pp. 346-544; Lewis, "Acta Mythologia Apostolorum," pp. 1-241; W. Wright, "Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," II; Findlay, "Byways in Early Christian Literature," Eusebius, III, 3:2 and 25.

canonicity for some. Hippolytus and Lactantius used them. Tertullian informs us that a presbyter of Asia Minor composed a romance regarding Paul and his convert Thecla under the name of Paul.[4] The first part of the Acts narrates the story of a maiden of Iconium, called Thecla, who was converted to Christianity through the preaching of Paul. Thecla thereupon broke with home and betrothed, endured persecution, was miraculously rescued from death, and preached Christianity at Iconium and Seleucia. Thecla became a type of Christian virginity. Other fragments narrate Paul's cure of one sick with dropsy at Myra, Paul's fight with wild beasts at Ephesus, Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians, and the martyrdom of Paul.

The following quotations furnish specimens of the great variety of legendary material found in these "Acts of the Apostles."

The Martyrdom of Barnabas

> "And Barjesus, having arrived after two days, after not a few Jews had been instructed, was enraged, and brought together all the multitude of the Jews; and they having laid hold of Barnabas, wished to hand him over to Hypatius, the governor of Salamis . . . the Jews, learning this, took Barnabas by night, and bound him with a rope by the neck; and having dragged him to the hippodrome from the synagogue, and having gone out of the city, standing round him, they burned him with fire, so that even his bones became dust." [5]

4 Concerning Baptism 17.
5 *Acts of Barnabas,* "Ante Nicene Fathers," VIII, 495.

The Martyrdom of Bartholomew

"Then King Astreges in a rage sent a thousand armed men along with those priests, in order that, wherever they should find the apostle, they might bring him to him bound. And when they had done so, and found him, and brought him, he says to him: Art thou he who has perverted my brother from the gods? To whom the apostle answered: I have not perverted him but converted him to God. The king says to him: Art thou he who caused our gods to be broken in pieces? The apostle says to him: I gave power to the demons who were in them, and they broke in pieces the dumb and senseless idols, that all men might believe in God Almighty, who dwelleth in the heavens. The king says to him: As thou hast made my brother deny his gods, and believe in thy God, so I also will make you reject thy God and believe in my gods. The apostle says to him: If I have bound and kept in subjection the god which thy brother worshipped and at my order the idols were broken in pieces, if thou also art able to do the same to my God, thou canst persuade me also to sacrifice to thy gods; but if thou canst do nothing to my God, I will break all thy gods in pieces; but do thou believe in my God.

"And when he had thus spoken, the king was informed that his god Boldad and all the other idols had fallen down, and were broken in pieces. Then the king rent the purple in which he was clothed, and ordered the holy apostle Bartholomew to be beaten with rods, and after having been thus scourged, to be beheaded." [6]

The Departure of John the Theologian

"And the blessed John having gone forth from the house, went outside the gates, having told the multitude to stand off from him. And having come to the tomb of one of our brethren, he told them to dig. And they dug. And he says, Let the

[6] A.N.F. VIII, 557.

trench be deeper. And when the young men had finished the trench, as he had wished, while we knew nothing, he takes off the clothes he had on, and throws them, as if they were some bedding, into the depth of the trench; and, standing in only his pajamas, stretched forth his hands and prayed . . . And gazing toward heaven, he glorified God; and having sealed himself altogether, he stood and said to us, Peace and grace be with you, brethren, and sent the brethren away. And when they went on the morrow they did not find him, but his sandals, and a fountain welling up." [7]

Quo Vadis?

"As they took counsel together, Xanthippe heard of the advice which her husband had given to Agrippa (about putting Peter to death) and she sent word to Peter and besought him to leave Rome. And the other brethren along with Marcellus also urged him to leave the city. But Peter said to them, Shall we run away, brethren: And they said to him, no, but your duty is to go away, as you can still serve the Lord. He gave heed to the brethren and went away alone, saying, Let none of you go with me; I will go alone when I have changed my garment. When he came to the gate, he saw the Lord about to enter Rome. And seeing Him, he said, Lord, *whither goest Thou* in this wise? And the Lord said to him, I go to Rome to be crucified again. And Peter said to Him, Lord, wilt thou be crucified again? He said to him, Yes, Peter, I shall be crucified again. Then Peter came to himself and saw the Lord depart to heaven; he returned to Rome, rejoicing and praising the Lord, because He Himself had said, I shall be crucified. That was to be fulfilled in Peter." [8]

7 A.N.F. VIII, 563.

8 Quoted by Findlay, p. 210 from the Acts of Peter. For the partridge story, see p. 213; for the bridal ode of the Acts of Thomas, p. 292.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCALYPSE

In the New Testament is included a composition called The Revelation of John. No book of the New Testament has suffered more from the mistaken methods of its interpreters. Its exegesis has been in large measure a tug-of-war between error and nonsense. Some students of the book who began their investigation convinced that they had at last discovered the key to its mysteries have finally abandoned the task in despair. The great philologist of the sixteenth century, Scaliger, remarked: "Calvin is wise, because he has not written upon the apocalypse." No book of the New Testament has had to wait longer for its proper understanding than this book.

Not so very long ago folks regarded the last book of the New Testament as the one and only book of mystery. Thereupon some one happened to observe that the Book of Daniel was likewise a volume of mystery. Erelong the relation between Daniel and the Johannine apocalypse was discovered. At this point investigation camped for a time. The wider area of apocalypticism remained unexplored. But the successive publication and study of several Jewish apocalypses, such as

Enoch and Baruch and Ezra, inevitably raised the problem of background. Gradually and reluctantly it came to be conceded that the New Testament apocalypse must be approached by way of the numerous Jewish apocalyptic deposits. More recently the comparativist has taken the offensive and traced apocalyptic instinct and feeling back to exceedingly primitive times and demonstrated the underlying philosophy to be a universal human hope. Probably sociology will have the final word.

No one should any longer think of beginning the apocalyptic development with the time of Antiochus Epiphanes or of concluding it with the destruction of the Jewish state—that period represents only one significant Jewish stratum.

Furthermore, it is now granted that the Jewish hope was not of one kind, but of at least two principal trends with unlimited strata. A tortuous development lies between the Day of Yahweh of the eighth-century prophets and the transcendentalism of the first Christian century; for during that period the originally vigorous national hope metamorphosed to such an extent that it became a mere interlude to the commencement of the new æon.

What our millennialist friends refer to as the millennium is really the fossilized remains of the older national eschatology. The idea of the intermediate kingdom is about all that finally survived of the old national hope. The length of time as-

signed to this interval varies from several decades to thousands of years. The Samaritan Messiah enjoys a long sway. The Messiah of IV Ezra dies at the close of a span of four hundred years. The period of time assigned to the intermediate kingdom in Revelation is a thousand years, while in Enoch it is the eighth of the seer's ten weeks.

Apocalypticism is quite as fertile as polytheism and superstition and can produce a hundred predictions and calendars within a year—all of them inconsistent and thoroughly contradictory—and forthwith proceed to the adoption and approval of the strangest and latest puzzle.

Consider Ezra's creative feat.

> So in 40 days were written 94 books. And it came to pass when the 40 days were fulfilled, the Most High spoke unto me, saying: The 24 books that thou hast written publish, that the worthy and unworthy may read therein; but the 70 last thou shalt keep to deliver them to the wise among the people.[1]

And yet what is Ezra's achievement when brought over against that of Enoch?

> Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan and lived 365 years. He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven 60 days. He wrote all these signs of all crea-

[1] IV Ezra 14:44 ff., Charles II, 624.

tion, which the Lord created, and wrote 366 books and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth 30 days and was again taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan on the very day and hour when he was born.[2]

From very primitive Christian times a two-fold attitude toward the Johannine apocalypse may be observed. There has been supreme devotion to it. There has also been serious suspicion of it. The latter attitude was characteristic of Erasmus.

"St. Jerome bears witness that the Apocalypse was not received by the Greeks even in his time; and moreover that some most learned men had assailed the whole substance of the book with severe criticisms as a mere romance, on the ground that it presents no trace of apostolic dignity, but contains only an ordinary history disguised in symbols. To say nothing at present of these opinions, I have been somewhat moved by other conjectures and also by the fact that the author while writing the Revelation is so anxious to introduce his own name: I John, I John, just as if he were writing a bond and not a book, and that not only against the custom of the other apostles but much more against his

2 "Book of the Secrets of Enoch," 68 : 1 ff., Charles II, 469.

own custom, since in his Gospel, though the subject is less exalted, he nowhere gives his own name, but indicates it by slight references, and Paul when compelled to speak of his own visions sets forth the facts under the person of another. But how often does our author when describing the most mysterious conversations with angels introduce the phrase 'I John.' Further in the Greek manuscripts which I have seen the title is not *of John the Evangelist,* but *of John the Divine;* not to mention that the style is widely different from that of the Gospel and Epistle. For though we may admit that there would be no little trouble in explaining some passages falsely assailed on the ground that they are tinged with heretical ideas, these arguments, I say, would somewhat move me to decline to believe that the work belongs to John the Evangelist, unless the general consent of the world called me to another conclusion, but especially the authority of the church, if at least the church approves of this work with the feeling that she wishes it to be considered the work of John the Evangelist and to be held of equal weight with the other canonical books. . . . In fact I observe that ancient theologians quote passages from this book rather for illustration and ornament than for the support of a serious proposition."[3]

[3] See footnote on opposite page.

The authoritative publication of Father Conway, guaranteed by the *imprimatur* and by the *nihil obstat,* informs the inquiring Protestant that the message of the Johannine apocalypse is quite obscure. In reply to the question, "what does your church teach regarding the millennium," answer is made: "The church has defined nothing whatsoever on this subject. The reign of Christ for one thousand years, with the two resurrections of the just and wicked, held in the early church by some few writers, is contrary to the scriptures, which speak only of the twofold coming of Christ; the first as the Babe of Bethlehem and the second as the Judge of the living and the dead. *The apocalypse is one of the most obscure portions of Holy Writ, and no one pretends to be able to interpret it with any certainty."* [4]

On the other hand, the New Testament apocalypse has been a warmly admired and much perused book. Every era of gloom and catastrophe revives interest in apocalypticism. Wars, floods, disasters, atrocities, earthquakes, blockades, blacklists, Zeppelins, aeroplanes, hatred, rumors, form the apocalyptist's stock in trade. During the last decade our prophet of chaos has enjoyed unusual opportunities to cultivate his special soil. An enormous crop of weird constructions of ignorance has been harvested.

3 Erasmus, "Nov. Test.," p. 625, quoted from Westcott, "Canon and Text of the New Testament," p. 468.
4 Conway, "Question Box," p. 562.

Months must have been devoted to some of the calculations presented for consideration. They would have been a credit to the most improved adding machine. But this recent world cataclysm has also caused many Christians ordinarily uninfluenced by numerical coincidences to pay some attention to signs and woes.

If the current enthusiasm for the apocalypse were greatly magnified, our age would resemble the epoch that witnessed the composition of the Revelation of John. For the Christian church was born in an environment of apocalypticism. The personal companions of Jesus were greatly concerned about the calendar of the future. Who would estimate what proportion of primitive Christian enthusiasm was due to the expectation of the "presence" of the Lord? What a totally different development would be traceable, if the church had not been prevented from attempting this and that because the Lord would soon appear! To explain the plastic organization of the early church as well as its first type of theology, one must assume a tremendous prophetic enthusiasm. Moreover, Judaism had its innumerable apocalypses with a few of which we are now becoming familiar. Many a stray remnant of previous apocalypses survives on the pages of the New Testament.[5] Jude refers to Enoch and the Assumption of Moses. The pages of early noncanonical Christian literature but emphasize the

5 See, e.g., I Corinthians 2:9 and Harnack, "Entstehung," I, § 4.

impression derived from the New Testament. I Clement cites an apocalypse. Hermas is familiar with Eldad and Modad. The Didache prohibits criticism of the oracular pronouncements of Christian prophets. The Epistle of Barnabas regards Enoch and IV Esdras as canonical. The final chapter of the Johannine apocalypse by warning against the censoring of prophetic pronouncements bears eloquent testimony to the contagious interest in the plan of the future and to the confidence of the apocalyptist.

A study of passages like Mark 3:28 f., 13:11, I Corinthians 7:40, I Thessalonians 5:19 f., Acts 16:6-10, 18:19, 19:1, I Corinthians 12:1 ff., I John 4, the Didache, and a little reflection upon the withdrawal of Jewish Christians to Pella enable one to understand the importance of prophecy in the early church.[6]

We should, therefore, not have been surprised if the first Christian collection of books had consisted of a number of apocalypses. What amazes one is that the New Testament contains only one complete apocalypse. Several New Testament apocalypses would seem more natural.

Indeed, it is not difficult to show that the New Testament of many an early Christian church actually contained several apocalypses. One of these was the apocalypse of Peter. The Muratorian writer remarks, "We also accept apocalypses but only two, those of John and Peter, al-

6 Eusebius, "Church History," III, 5:3.

though the latter is rejected by a minority of us." Toward the end of the second century, the majority of the church at Rome accepted the Petrine apocalypse as normative. Its retention in the canon would have augmented the illustrative material of the evangelists who love to enlarge on the woes of the wicked. It seems strange that such vigorous passages should be so neglected by the brethren of the school of fear. A vivid section of this apocalypse reads:

> "And I saw also another place over against that other, very squalid, and it was a place of chastisement; and those that were being chastised, and the angels that were chastising, had their raiment dark, according to the atmosphere of the place.
>
> "And there were some there hanging by their tongues; and these were they that blaspheme the way of righteousness; and there was beneath them fire flaming and tormenting them.
>
> "And there were also others, women, hung up by their hair over mire that bubbled up; and these were they that had adorned themselves for adultery; and the men that had been joined with them were hanging by their feet, and had their heads in the mire; and all were saying, 'We believed not that we should come into this place. . . .'
>
> "And hard by that place I saw another

narrow place wherein the gore and the filth of them that were tormented ran down, and became as it were a lake there. And there sat women having the gore up to their throats, and over against them a multitude of children which were born out of due time sat crying; then there proceeded from them sparks of fire, and smote the women on the eyes. . . .

"And there were other men and women on fire up to their middle and cast into a dark place and scourged by evil spirits and having their entrails devoured by worms that rested not . . .

"And hard by them men and women were gnawing their lips, being tormented, and receiving red-hot iron upon their eyes . . .

"And in a certain other place were pebbles sharper than swords or than any spit, red-hot, and women and men clad in filthy rags were rolling upon them in torment . . .

"And in another great lake full of pitch and blood and boiling mire stood men and women, up to their knees . . ."[7]

Another apocalypse that enjoyed widespread popularity was the Shepherd of Hermas. Irenæus and Tertullian in his pre-Montanist days accepted Hermas as authoritative. The Roman church during the late second century passed un-

7 James' translation.

favorably upon it. The Muratorian writer states that the Shepherd of Hermas "may not be regarded as belonging to the collection whether now or hereafter, for it was written in our time. Moreover, it may not be added to the Old Testament as some desire who call attention to the prophetic character of the book, for the book of the prophets is closed." Though such an important church as that at Rome so early protested against the approval of Hermas, the apocalypse gained an influence which survived for decades. Its later normative value to some sections of the church is indicated by its presence in Sinaiticus, that fourth century New Testament uncial so highly prized by Tischendorf. Its disappearance was exceedingly gradual. Athanasius still recommended it for use with catechumens.

The history of the attitude of the primitive church toward apocalypticism may now be summarized. The church originated in an epoch of emphasis on the construction of the calendar of the future. It inherited and produced many apocalypses. During a process of gradual elimination and selection, three apocalypses secured somewhat general acceptance. They were the Johannine apocalypse, the Petrine apocalypse, and the Shepherd of Hermas. Finally but one apocalypse survived removal and continued to be included in the canon of the New Testament.

It is not difficult to appreciate the motive of the church in ceasing to cultivate the prophetic

interpretation of history and in reducing the product of the prophetic group. The student of the development of Christianity recognizes that during the long and violent controversy with Gnosticism and Montanism, the church subordinated the prophetic to the apostolic. Moreover, even apart from this conflict the church was accumulating a past, was developing a tradition which must needs be more and more revered. This too signified the sovereignty of the apostolic. Only the apostolic should be included in the Christian collection. Thus the Petrine apocalypse came under suspicion in those circles where the colloquy between the risen Lord and the disciples seemed too reminiscent of Gnosticism. Thus the Roman church acquainted with the author of the Shepherd of Hermas and the period of its origin was unable to stamp it as apostolic and defend its canonicity.[8]

The road to canonicity in case of the Johannine apocalypse was long, rugged, and winding. Sometimes when the book was accepted, its views were repudiated. Fathers like Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorian, and Lactantius supported the millennial hope. Origen boldly rejected the chiliasm of Revelation. Dionysius of Alexandria was unable to grant the authenticity of Revelation because of its "divergence in spirit and style" from the fourth gospel and I John. It was not apostolic. Eusebius of Church History

8 Eusebius, V, 17 : 1, Irenæus, III, 11 : 9.

fame speaks of it as the "so-called apocalypse of John" and now classifies it among the spurious, the uncanonical books, and again among the generally acknowledged books. The Jerusalem church in Cyril's time failed to include our apocalypse among the books of the New Testament. The national Syrian church of Edessa refused the Revelation of John a place in its New Testament canon. The list of the so-called Council of Laodicea does not contain Revelation. Gregory Nazianzen omits Revelation. Amphilochus, bishop of Iconium, manifests his own attitude in remarking "some accept the Revelation of John but most call it spurious." Chrysostom, whose texts were selected from almost every portion of the Bible, strangely passes by the Johannine apocalypse completely.

In spite of all this doubt and criticism, the Johannine apocalypse is to this day included among the books of the New Testament. It was in no slight measure the achievement of Athanasius to rescue it from oblivion. This stalwart Alexandrian champion of orthodoxy accepted the tradition of the church and in his thirty-ninth festal epistle, penned in 367, rated Revelation as a writing of an apostle and recognized its normative value. Thus Revelation finally secured its place in the canon not because it was apocalyptic but because regarded as apostolic.

CHAPTER XII

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The New Testament does not represent the collection of all the productions written by primitive Christians but the selection of a few of them. For that reduction second century Christianity is in the main responsible.

Primitive Christianity was characterized by expectation of the parousia of Jesus, by universal inspiration, by spiritual coherence, by democracy, by lack of canon, creed, and episcopate. Leadership was natural. There was no censorship. There were no hard and fast formulæ to be endorsed.

In the course of the second century, in consequence of geographical expansion, the influence of Christian philosophers, Marcionism, Gnosticism, Montanism, persecution and the formation of a rigid organization, Catholicism came into existence. It protected itself in a threefold way by means of an "apostolic" episcopate, creed, and canon.

Four gospels had been selected out of a larger number of gospels, and thus a gospel canon had

been constituted. Various letters of Paul had been selected out of a longer list, and thus a Pauline canon had been constituted. Several apocalypses were being read in numerous Christian churches. How did all these materials become united with the more universal gospels? Why were Acts and compositions ascribed to Peter, James and John included in the New Testament collection?

The canon of the orthodox church, like that of Marcion, consisted of gospel and *apostolos*. The number of books in the *apostolos* accepted by the orthodox church was different from that in the *apostolos* of the Marcionite church. Although the Marcionites used the letters of Paul, although there were difficult passages in Paul's correspondence, although Paul was referred to as the apostle of the heretics, Paul's letters were included in the New Testament, for Paul had been too important a missionary and too many and significant letters had been written by him. And the Jerusalem pillars had recognized him as an apostle. Galatians 2:1-10 stated their approval of him and his mission. But if to quote Galatians appeared to be a defense of Paul by an appeal to Paul, Acts 15 could be invoked. Acts was necessary to guarantee Paul's apostleship. Moreover, if Marcion advanced the claim that Paul's doctrine was contained in the ten Pauline letters selected by him, the church could reply that Acts contained addresses by Paul. Therefore to un-

derstand Paul one needed both Paul's correspondence and Acts. By appealing to Acts the church could also establish the unity of view between Paul and the primitive apostles. Acts contained the speeches of all the apostles through Peter. Finally, Acts was valuable because it narrated the history of Christian beginnings. The "Catholic epistles" were only gradually added to the collection of New Testament books. The Muratorian Fragment mentions only Jude, I and II John: "The Epistle of Jude, no doubt, and the couple bearing the name of John are accepted in the Catholic church, and the Wisdom written by friends of Solomon in his honor." Irenæus refers to I Peter, I and II John. Tertullian cites I Peter, I John, and Jude. Clement of Alexandria includes I Peter, Jude, I and II John, Epistle of Barnabas, I Clement, and the Didache in his list. Origen recognizes the seven Catholic epistles.

About A.D. 180, Melito of Sardis refers to "the Old Testament." The adjective "old" implies another adjective, namely, "new."[1]

The Muratorian Fragment by employing statements like "but one Church is recognized as being spread over the entire world . . . which cannot be received into the Catholic Church . . . are accepted in the Catholic Church . . . the Apocalypse, also, of John and Peter only we receive" indicates that the Church of Rome had consider-

1 Eusebius IV, 26 : 2-14. The discussion follows Harnack, "Entstehung," I § 1, C; § 2, C.

able influence in determining the extent of the New Testament canon.[2]

The debate regarding the total number of books to be included in the New Testament continued for centuries and was reopened by the Protestant reformers. For Irenæus, the canon of the New Testament was not closed. Eusebius, the historian of the Christian church writing in the fourth century, made a fourfold classification of existing Christian documents. He regarded the four gospels, Acts, Paul's letters including Hebrews, I John, and I Peter as generally acknowledged books. James, Jude, II Peter, II and III John were classified as disputed books. The Acts of Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Revelation of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Didache, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews were placed on a lower level of authority. Heretical compositions included the gospel of Thomas, the gospel of Peter, the gospel of Mathias, the Acts of Andrew, and so forth. Cyril of Jerusalem, about the middle of the fourth century, acknowledged all of our New Testament with the exception of the Revelation of John. Likewise the synod of Laodicea, late fourth century, refused to include the Revelation of John in its list of New Testament books. Athanasius, writing in A.D. 367, enumerated the twenty-seven books of our New Testament and added: "In

2 See also Harnack, "Zeitschrift fuer die neut. Wissenschaft," 1925, pp. 1 ff.

these alone is the teaching of godliness heralded. Let no one add to these. Let nothing be taken away from these." About the beginning of the fifth century, Jerome stated that II Peter "is by many denied to be his because of the difference of style from" I Peter; and that "because Jude quotes the book of Enoch which is apocryphal it is rejected by a great many." Further, according to Jerome, neither Hebrews nor the Johannine apocalypse was universally recognized. Augustine personally accepted the twenty-seven books of our New Testament, but knew of churches that rejected some of them. He does not refer to any ecumenical decision establishing the number of New Testament books. The Peshitta of the Syrian church established a canon of twenty-two New Testament books, excluding II Peter, II and III John, Jude, and the Revelation of John. As late as the fifth century the church is not unanimous regarding the precise list of New Testament books. Indeed, Christianity has never become unanimous in the matter of the number of books in the Bible.

The reasons for the origin of the New Testament are not difficult to discern.

Christianity originated within Judaism. Judaism had produced a fine collection of religious literature. Palestinian Judaism read the books now found in the Protestant Old Testament. Alexandrian Judaism read all these books and others like Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of

Solomon as well. The Christian church inherited this Jewish religious library.

Jesus used the Old Testament. He did not write a gospel or a letter. Paul did not fashion a new list of religious documents. He differentiated between the law and the gospel. But he discovered his gospel in the documents of the law. He read his experience of Christ back into the prophets. When he studied the holy book of the Jews, he obtained different results from the average Pharisee. Why did not the Christian church merely continue Paul's method?

One reason is that the church believed with Paul that it possessed a new life, had come to a new attitude toward God. Christianity was different from Judaism. Christianity's interpretation of God was not identical with that of Judaism. The holy book of Judaism could not vouch for Christian experience or history. Hence as time went on the Christian community felt the need of new records guaranteeing the new attitude and experience. Fortunately, such records were in existence. Long before the question of an authoritative collection of Christian documents arose, gospels, letters, apocalypses, sermons, and a history of the beginnings of Christianity had been written. The previous origin of numerous Christian compositions made it possible for the church to undertake the formation of a smaller collection which would vouch for the new life. We have here an illustration of a general reli-

gious principle. Every new religious group values highly writings describing the new situation. Thus, the antitheses of Marcion soon enjoyed canonical authority with his followers. The prophecies of the Montanist prophets were collected and called *Novissimum Testamentum.* In the same way, the Shakers collected the "Precepts of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders." The Church Manual of the Christian Science Church directs that "the *first readers* in the Christian Science churches shall read the correlative texts in Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures; and the *second readers* shall read the Bible texts." [3]

The custom of reading the gospels, letters of Paul, and other Christian compositions at the public assemblies of the Christian communities also promoted the formation of the New Testament. For the new writings were read side by side with the writings of the Jewish holy book. The reverence and authority given to the latter would be transferred to the former.

The controversies within Christianity during the second century constitute a principal reason for the formation of the New Testament. The Gnostic groups kept on producing *Christian* literature. By appealing to their gospels and Acts, the Gnostics could prove their theology in much the same way as new religious groups of to-day. The Montanists kept on shouting that their new

3 "Christian Science Manual," p. 32.

prophecy settled all questions left open by the New Testament and refused to admit the possibility of an appeal from the prophets of Montanism to the bishops of the orthodox church. Indeed, Montanism insisted that the new prophecy could revise earlier ecclesiastical enactments and must be implicitly obeyed. Caught between the literary débris of Gnosticism and the infinite enthusiasm of Montanism, the church resisted by establishing a definite list of Christian books and by limiting revelation to this acknowledged collection of sacred writings. The majority of Christians preferred to limit revelation to a book than to journey to Pepuza at the suggestion of a Montanist prophet and there await the descent of the New Jerusalem. The majority of Christians likewise favored a precise list of authoritative writings to perusing the infinite product of Gnostic writing shops.

To transmit an ideal, you must externalize it. No religion continues to be precisely what it has been. Every religion is sooner or later institutionalized. A New Testament simply had to originate. The spiritual coherence, enthusiasm, and democracy of primitive Christianity could not escape profound modification in the course of the second century. The Catholic church was gradually coming into existence. But that developing church not only believed in its past, it decided to remain connected with its past. Hence, it put forth the claim of "apostolic" organization and

creed. It also decided to preserve "apostolic" writings, writings assigned to the companions of Jesus, writings composed by or guaranteed by apostolic names. It tested writings by their age and descent and by their agreement with the rule of faith. It established an "apostolic" canon. The writings that make up our New Testament survived the test of the "apostolic" and the "catholic," the test of primitive origin and of orthodoxy.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXISTENCE OF A NEW TESTAMENT

The formation of the New Testament was an epoch-making achievement of the early Christian church. Its total significance may hardly be overestimated. The following survey traces the results of this creative act upon the Old Testament, upon early Christian literature, and upon the history of Christianity.

(1) The holy book of Judaism had been inherited by the Christian community. Many quotations from it had been incorporated in the various Christian writings. But after Christianity had been hellenized, after Gentile Christians with their non-Jewish past began to reëxamine the Old Testament, the Christian reaction to it was less favorable. Some removed existing difficulties by the allegorical method of interpretation. Others depreciated it, neglected it, or repudiated it. A return to Judaism was always possible as long as the holy book of the Jews was the only canon in the Christian church.[1]

The existence of the New Testament caused the

1 Ignatius, Magnesians VIII-X; Philadelphians VIII, IX. This chapter popularizes Harnack, "Entstehung des N. T.," pp. 76-105.

subordination of the Old Testament. Since the revelation of God through Jesus and the establishment of the new covenant were superior to the former and fragmentary revelations, the written record of the new covenant must exceed in value the written record of the old covenant. The New Testament as voucher of the new covenant was manifestly of greater importance than the Old Testament which contained the old covenant. The New Testament could not be equated with the Old Testament without compromising Christianity. A Christianity without an Old Testament was conceivable. A Christianity without a New Testament was now unthinkable.

But the Christian church could not follow the principal heretical movements of the second century in abandoning the Old Testament. Had not Jesus appealed to the Jewish Bible? Had not Paul frequently quoted from it? Had not the Jerusalem church established the messiahship of Jesus by quoting its prophecies? There was too much of the Old Testament in the New Testament to permit consideration of its rejection. Not enough time had elapsed for the memory of the church to become indifferent to the fact that Christianity had started with the holy book of Judaism. The Old Testament might be a somewhat mysterious and antiquated volume, the ceremonial law might seem incommensurable with the teachings of Jesus, but nevertheless it was worthy of preservation. Thus the New Testament pre-

served the Old Testament for the later Christian Church.

The relation of the New Testament to the Old Testament is on the agenda of the twentieth century.

Christian fundamentalism does not seem acquainted with some of the Old Testament exhortations.

Is the sabbath of solemn rest observed?

> The Eternal gave Moses on mount Sinai these orders for the Israelites. "When you enter the land I give you, the land shall enjoy a sabbath rest for the Eternal. For six years you may sow your field, for six years you may prune your vineyard, and gather in the produce; but the seventh year shall be a sabbath of entire rest for the land, a sabbath in honour of the Eternal, on which you must neither sow a field nor prune a vineyard, on which you must not even gather the after-growth of your harvest nor grapes from your undressed vines—it shall be a year of entire rest for the land. The natural produce of the land shall serve as food for you, for yourself and your slaves, male and female, for your hired servant and any outsiders staying with you, furnishing food also for your cattle and live-stock.[2]

Are the fatherless and the widows permitted to reap or pick what remains?

> In reaping your harvest, if you forget a sheaf in the field, you must not go back to fetch it; it shall be for the alien, the orphan, or the widow, that the Eternal your God may bless you in all the work to which you put a hand. In knocking the fruit off your olive-trees, you must not go over the branches a second time; that fruit is for the

2 Leviticus 25 : 1-7.

alien, the orphan, or the widow. In gathering your grapes, you must not go over your vineyard again; that is to be left for the alien, the orphan, or the widow. You must remember that you were once a slave yourself in the land of Egypt; therefore do I lay this command upon you.[3]

Who would permit the modern automobilist to quote this passage?

When you enter your neighbour's vineyard, you may eat your fill of the grapes, but you must not put any in your bag. When you pass your neighbour's standing corn you may pull some ears with your hand, but you must never put a sickle into your neighbour's standing corn.[4]

What merchant prince pays his help at the end of each day?

You must not defraud any hired labourer who is needy and poor, whether he is a fellow-Israelite or one of the aliens resident in your townships; you must pay him his wages by the day, nor let the sun go down upon it (for the man is poor and he wants his wages), lest he cries to the Eternal against you and you incur guilt.[5]

What creditors practice the law of release at the end of every seven years?

At the end of every seven years you must grant a remission, as follows: every creditor shall remit what he has lent to his fellow-Israelite, he shall not press his fellow-Israelite or fellow-countryman, for a general remission has been proclaimed in honour of the Eternal. You may press a foreigner for payment, but you must remit any claim upon

3 Deuteronomy 24 : 19-22 ; Leviticus 19 : 9 f., 23 : 22.
4 Deuteronomy 23 : 24 f.
5 Deuteronomy 24 : 14 f. ; Leviticus 19 : 13.

> your fellow-countryman. Though indeed there should be no poor among you (for the Eternal your God will prosper you in the land which the Eternal your God assigns to you as your own possession), provided that you are attentive to the voice of the Eternal your God, and mindful to obey all these commands laid down by me to-day. For the Eternal your God will prosper you as he promised; you shall lend to many a nation, but never need to borrow; you shall rule over many nations, but never shall they rule over you.[6]

No modern woman would agree to abide by a verdict rendered according to Numbers. Contagious diseases are no longer dealt with according to Leviticus.[7]

Even the most violent literalist will not allege that this sentiment found in the third chapter of Ecclesiastes is evangelical.

> This, I reflected, is God showing what men are, to let them see they are no better than the beasts. For man's fate is a beast's fate, one fate befalls them both; as the one dies so the other dies, the same breath is in them all; man is no better than a beast, for both are vanity, both are bound for the same end; both sprang from the dust, and to the dust they both return. Who can tell if the spirit of man goes upward, while the spirit of a beast goes down into the earth? So I saw the best thing for man was to be happy in his work; that is what he gets out of life, for who can show him what is to happen afterwards?[8]

6 Deuteronomy 15 : 1 ff.

7 Numbers 5 : 11 ff.; Leviticus 14.

8 The relation between man and the animal creation according to the Bible is as follows: God created animals and "saw that it was good," Genesis 1 : 24 f. Animals were the companions of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, Genesis 2 : 19 ff. Man and not the animals was expelled from Eden, Genesis 3 : 24. The poor, the stranger, slaves, and animals are similarly provided for, Exodus 23 : 10-13. Man is described as a vegetarian until the period of the flood and Israel as vegetarian during the wilderness wanderings, Genesis 1 : 29, 2 : 16, Numbers 11 : 1 ff., Amos 5 : 25. Man became a flesh-eater after the

(2) The existence of the New Testament tended to reduce the production of lives of Jesus and acts of the apostles. The legendary growth was less because of the presence of the New Testament. A new romance would be measured against the accepted writings.

But there were valuable Christian productions which the New Testament condemned to disregard and disappearance. The tendency was to limit reading and study to the canonical books. "Everything within the canonical books may be studied but to read more is sin," was the view in Spain in the late fourth century. We should know ever so much more about early second century Christianity, if so much Christian literature had not disappeared. Fortunately, it required centuries for the church to reach a somewhat unanimous decision upon the exact contents of the New Testament. I Clement appears in the uncial manuscript Alexandrinus; both the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas appear in the very valuable uncial manuscript Sinaiticus.

When the New Testament had been formed, the process of its formation was forgotten and what

flood, Genesis 9 : 3 ff. For desiring flesh, the Israelites were smitten with a plague, Numbers 11 : 33. Isaiah in constructing his Utopia mentions as prominent feature the peace between beasts and man, Isaiah 11 : 6 ff. A splendid passage in Romans couples the animal creation and man both as respects suffering and redemption, Romans 8 : 20 ff. Peter was thrice told that beasts and creeping things were not to be regarded as unclean, Acts 10 : 12-16. Jesus directs attention to the birds and the ravens as good illustrations of God's care. Man is associated with the animal creation in the Bible in such a way as to warn against too severe a verdict upon the "brutes." See "Zeitschrift fuer die alt. Wissenschaft," 1925, pp. 33 ff.

was more serious, the methods and individuality of the various writers were overlooked. Since the New Testament was regarded as a unity, any passage was equal to any other passage. The Christian doctrinal system could be derived from a random section or even from a fraction of a verse. Original significance was obscured. Interpreters were tempted to discover what was not there. Acts, for example, in chapter nineteen, narrates that certain Christians at Ephesus were rebaptized as the result of an argument with the apostle Paul. What was orthodox John Calvin to do, inasmuch as he was engaged in fighting what he believed to be rebaptism? He finally solved his problem by transforming this water baptism into baptism with the Spirit. The same method of saving a theory by obliterating the scriptures has often been employed. Peculiar thoughts of various writers of the New Testament were whittled down to average significance. Historical comprehension was blurred. Differences between the Old Testament and the New Testament were erased. Originality was sacrificed to conformity. Strata were painted over. The experience of Jesus was equated with that of Paul.

It may be granted that the New Testament contains the noblest primitive Christian compositions. An hour or two with the apocryphal gospels and acts should suffice to convince any one of the general superiority of the literature selected

by the early Christians. The New Testament transmitted the ideals of Jesus and Paul to the later church. A couple of illustrations may emphasize the point.

I tell you, my hearers,
love your enemies, do good to those who hate you,
bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you.
If a man strikes you on the one cheek,
offer him the other as well:
if any one takes your coat,
do not deny him your shirt as well;
give to any one who asks you,
and do not ask your goods back from any one who has taken them.
As you would like men to do to you,
so do to them.
If you love only those who love you, what credit is that to you?
Why, even sinful men love those who love them.
If you help only those who help you, what merit is that to you?
Why, even sinful men do that.
If you only lend to those from whom you hope to get something, what credit is that to you?
Even sinful men lend to one another, so as to get a fair return.
No, you must love your enemies and help them,
you must lend to them without expecting any return;
then you will have a rich reward,
you will be sons of the Most High—
for he is kind even to the ungrateful and the evil.
Be merciful,
as your Father is merciful.

Also, judge not, and you will not be judged
yourselves:
condemn not, and you will not be con-
demned:
pardon, and you will be pardoned your-
selves:
give, and you will have ample measure
given you—
they will pour into your lap measure
pressed down,
shaken together, and running over;
for the measure you deal out to others will
be dealt back to yourselves."

Now you are Christ's Body, and severally members of it. That is to say, God has set people within the church to be first of all apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, helpers, administrators, and speakers in 'tongues' of various kinds. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Are all endowed with the gifts of healing? Are all able to speak in 'tongues'? Are all able to interpret?

Set your hearts on the higher talents. And yet I will go on to show you a still higher path. Thus,

I may speak with the tongues of men and
of angels, but if I have no love,
I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal;
I may prophesy, fathom all mysteries and
secret lore,
I may have such absolute faith that I can
move hills from their place,
but if I have no love,
I count for nothing;
I may distribute all I possess in charity,
I may give up my body to be burnt,
but if I have no love,
I make nothing of it.[9]

The existence of a New Testament collection of books normative for faith and practice in-

[9] Luke 6:27-38; I Corinthians 12:28-13:3. Moffatt Translation.

vited precise understanding of their message. The consequences of this desire for information have been the study of the languages of the Bible and the production of innumerable commentaries, expository sermons, maps, geographical investigations, dictionaries, histories of Israel, Jesus, Paul, and the primitive church, biblical theologies, critical introductions to the Old Testament and to the New Testament. In a word, Christian colleges, theological seminaries and libraries are the answer to the challenge of the New Testament to its interpretation. And gradually Christianity has come to appreciate that the New Testament cannot be understood until the environment of its birth is fully investigated. That portion of primitive Christian literature included in the New Testament was enhanced in significance.

(3) The importance of the New Testament in the history of Christianity cannot be overestimated.

> "The more the sacred book of a book-religion influences the life of a people, the more will all their life weave itself about that book. *All the conceptions of the universe and of history, all moral, political and social theories* and institutions, will seek shelter behind the book and to the popular mind the book will seem to be identified with these existing institutions. If thereafter religion lifts the people and raises the standard of civilization,

intelligence and morality, and these theories or institutions become obsolete and appear wrong, those who oppose them will seem to be attacking the book which has been made to shelter and sanctify them. Sincere and conservative men will oppose the higher truth of God under the impression that they are defending the sacred book and its religion, whereas they are only defending the remnants of an outgrown age. This hampers the moral progress of humanity and discredits religion with those men who champion a nobler morality. Thus the Bible has been made to support the monarchical theories of government, slavery, the Ptolemaic system, an obsolete geology, the inferiority of women, the unequal distribution of wealth. A simpler and more historical comprehension of the biblical books, such as prevailed concerning the early Christian literature before the formation of the New Testament canon, would alleviate this serious evil." [10]

The apostolic age was idealized as unique. Had not the inspired apostles lived then? Had not the perfect church existed at that time? All the bitter controversies were forgotten. All the evident faults of the Christianity of Corinth were neglected. The program of that time must be the permanent program of Christianity! The

10 Walter Rauschenbusch, "Church History Notes."

methods of the apostles must be approved and employed by the later Christians! The New Testament organization regarding whose origin, form and significance Christianity has never agreed was assumed to be binding for all time! The existence of the New Testament has conditioned the development of Christian worship, organization, and ideals.

Religions originate on the basis of a new experience. Later part of the experience is perpetuated in documents. Still later the documents are regarded as portraying the entire experience. Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, the prophets and the people gave the Hebrew nation to the world. A portion of the experience of the various centuries was preserved in written form. Gradually a canon of the law emerged, then a canon of the prophets, thereupon a canon of writings. Law, prophets, writings were combined into a holy book. The holy book became the revelation of God. Christianity was initially a vivid experience of God and of Jesus. Christianity started with the deposit of Judaism in the Jewish scriptures and with the experience of the personality of Jesus. Then the personality of Jesus was preserved in the gospels. Christianity now possessed the Jewish scriptures, the written gospels, and the experience of the personal companions of Jesus. That experience was perpetuated in various apostolic compositions. Thereupon, the New Testament was formed. As time went on, after

all the companions of Jesus had died, Christianity had left only the Old Testament and the New Testament. And the tremendous personal revelation was limited to the written record of it! The New Testament came to exceed the personal revelation of Jesus. A negro soldier during the Civil War prayed: "Let me lib wid this musket in one hand an' de Bible in de oder,—dat if I die at de muzzle ob de musket, die in de water, die on de land, *I may know I hab de blessed Jesus in my hand* an' hab no fear." It remained for recent interpreters to call attention to the difference between the Gospel of Jesus and the Gospel concerning Jesus and to assert that Jesus was more significant than even his first interpreters assumed.

The New Testament has been employed by every variety of Christians as a final court of appeal. The dogmas of Roman Catholicism and the conclusions of Millerism are announced as derived from the Bible. The twenty-six denominations that appeared in the United States between 1906 and 1916 claim the support of the Bible. Shakerism, Mormonism, Spiritualism, Millenarianism, Christian Science, Spiritual Healing, Pentecostalism, Palmistry and others appeal to the Bible. Thus the Progressive Spiritual Church affirms "that the Holy Bible is the Inspired Word of God, a guide to spirit life and to all phases of spiritualism such as prophecies, spiritual palmistry, spiritual automatic writing, spiritual sug-

gestions and radiations, spiritual materialization, spiritual trumpet speaking, spiritual healing by magnetized articles, spiritual levitation and spiritual tests." And some Plymouth Brethren put it: "We believe in the absolute and perfect inspiration of the Bible; which we hold to be, not in name only, but in reality, the Word of God . . . we refuse all human creeds as being unnecessary and a slur upon the Word."[11] Every Christian group has felt obliged to attempt to square its view with New Testament views.

As long as the New Testament survives as the chief book of Christianity, Christian theology will continue diversified. Paul's construction of salvation differed from that of John. The physical parousia of Jesus awaited by the primitive church was spiritualized by the Gospel of John. Luther recognized that the epistle of James differed from the letter to the Romans, that the New Testament apocalypse varied from the gospels and Paul. Augustinianism cannot be fashioned out of Luke 15. The church never dared to deny the complete humanity of Jesus because the synoptic gospels protested too loudly. The strata of the New Testament make a unified biblical theological system impossible. The New Testament must remain a record of religious experience. The New Testament refuses to become a philosophy of religion.

11 Proverbs 3:16; Job 37:7 for Palmistry; United States Census, Religious Bodies, 1916, II, 682, 167.

"If the sacred book of a religion embodies the idea of its noblest age, that religion is always reformable. It carries a norm through history by which its present condition can always be tested. Every reformatory movement has thrust the New Testament in the face of a degenerate church, and the church was estopped from denial because it was her own sacred book to which appeal had been made." The appeal to the New Testament is a radical procedure. The comparison between present practice and primitive spirit often reveals the contradictory nature of Christian tradition.

The existence of the New Testament has ever been a summons to individual Christians to live according to its precepts. There have always been many disciples of Jesus ready to employ the New Testament as a rule of life. St. Francis of Assisi has been but one of many. In spite of death dances, devotion to mariolatry, reverence of relics, worship of saints, belief in devils and witches, the medieval Christian church had its brethren of the common life, its well-circulated "Concerning the Imitation of Christ," its Bibles in the vernacular, its Waldenses, its mystics. And the earnest Christian life appearing in every denomination during these trying years of the twentieth century demonstrates that Christians still test their lives by His.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REAL BIBLE

In his Baltimore sermon of 1819, Channing undertook to describe the real Bible. Our age would endorse many of his statements.

> "We regard the Scriptures as the records of God's successive revelations to mankind, and particularly of the last and most perfect revelation of his will by Jesus Christ. . . . We do not attach equal importance to all the books in the collection. Our religion lies chiefly in the New Testament. . . .
>
> "Our leading principle in interpreting Scripture is this, that the Bible is a book written for men, in the language of men, and that its meaning is to be sought in the same manner as that of other books. . . .
>
> "We profess not to know a book which demands a more frequent exercise of reason than the Bible. In addition to the remarks now made on its infinite connections, we may observe, that its style nowhere affects the precision of science, or the accuracy of definition. Its language is singularly glowing, bold, and figurative, demanding more fre-

quent departures from the literal sense than that of our own age and country, and consequently demanding more continual exercise of judgment. We find, too, that the different portions of this book, instead of being confined to general truths, refer perpetually to the times when they were written, to states of society, to modes of thinking, to controversies in the church, to feelings and usages, which have passed away, and without the knowledge of which we are constantly in danger of extending to all times and places what was of temporary and local application. We find, too, that some of these books are strongly marked by the genius and character of their respective writers, that the Holy Spirit did not so guide the Apostles as to suspend the peculiarities of their minds, and that a knowledge of their feelings, and of the influences under which they were placed is one of the preparations for understanding their writings. With this view of the Bible, we feel it our bounden duty to exercise our reason upon it perpetually: to compare, to infer, to look beyond the letter to the spirit, to seek in the nature of the subject, and the aim of the writer, his true meaning: and, in general, to make use of what is known for explaining what is difficult, and for discovering new truths. . . .

"Say what we may, God has given us a

rational nature, and will call us to account for it. We may let it sleep, but we do so at our peril. Revelation is addressed to us as rational beings. We may wish, in our sloth, that God had given us a system demanding no labor of comparing, limiting, and inferring. But such a system would be at variance with the whole character of our present existence."

The centuries have witnessed many fluctuations in the Christian attitude toward the Old Testament. Many advanced Christians of the second century rejected the Old Testament. The Marcionites could not permit the Father of Jesus to be also the one who commanded the sacrifice of the first born. Gentile Christians without the Jewish background of Paul could not appreciate the Jewish Bible. There have been denominational groups that refused to equate the Old Testament with the New Testament. There are numerous good folks to-day who regard the Old Testament as a "millstone about the neck of the church." It is pointed out that the Christian conscience cannot possibly approve of such matters as the double ethical standard, concubinage, enslavement of war captives, Jacob's rascality, the spirit of revenge glorified in Esther, the law of an eye for an eye and of a tooth for a tooth.[1]

1 I Kings 22, especially verses 19 ff.; Leviticus 11; Numbers 5 : 21 ff.; Joshua 7 : 16-26; I Samuel 16 : 19; Esther 9 : 13 ff.; Daniel 6 : 24; II Samuel 21 : 1-9.

Moreover, whenever the Old Testament is placed alongside of the New Testament as of equal authority as a moral standard, there is moral confusion. The bigamy of Philip of Hesse and the polygamy instituted at Muenster are well-known examples in the period of the Reformation. The gospel may not be quoted as approving what the law of Moses permits. The polygamy of the patriarchs has no warrant because the New Testament is silent on the matter. Not even our literalist would dare to carry out the directions of Zechariah 13:1-5 in the modern world. And few churches take the priestly ritual of Leviticus seriously.

Without the Old Testament, the New Testament cannot be adequately understood. But the Old Testament of course nowhere demands coördination with the New Testament. How could it? Christianity advocated that coördination. Does the Old Testament anywhere claim finality for itself? Are Old Testament writers addressing themselves to our modern problems or to their own? Is it not too often forgotten that even the Protestant Old Testament was not altogether completed in the time of Jesus? Are not many of our problems due to this, that we think of the Old Testament as a finished product rather than as an agelong development? Cannot any one recognize history, law, prophecy, wisdom, and devotional literature in the Old Testament? Why do we treat as a unity what is a differentiation?

Later writers of the Old Testament revise earlier views! Is it not our first duty to observe the judgment of the Old Testament upon itself? *The serious question for the modern Christian is whether his ethical judgment shall prove inferior to that of the authors of the later Old Testament books.*

A few instances will serve to illustrate the development of ethical and religious attitude in the Old Testament. In Exodus 34:28 we read, "And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." Looking back to verses like 34:17 we observe various commandments. One of these reads, "Thou shalt make thee no *molten gods.*" In the later codes this appears as, "Thou shalt not make unto thee a *graven image.*"[2] Who will deny the difference? Exodus 34:19 reads, "All that openeth the womb is mine"; Exodus 22:29, "The first born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me." The later codes omit this commandment.[3] Is it difficult to appreciate why? Ezekiel later offered this theological explanation: "I let them have laws that were evil and customs that could not bring them to life, and I made their very sacrifices befoul them, as they burned their first-born children alive—that I might destroy them. It was to teach them that I am the Eternal." Thus was the custom of child sacrifice in Israel's past explained! Command-

2 Deuteronomy 5:8; Exodus 20:4.
3 Ezekiel 20:25 ff.

ments like "thou shalt not kill," "honor thy father and thy mother," "thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" originally had a much different meaning and application than in the period of Jesus.[4]

Consider but one further instance:

> For trouble fills my soul to the full,
> my life is on the verge of death;
>
> I am already reckoned among the departed,
> I am but the shadow of a man.
>
> Left to myself among the dead, like the slain lying in their graves, of whom thou hast mind no more—they are deprived of thee.

Jehovah has no jurisdiction over the realm of the dead! What a revolutionary reinterpretation of the old theology is found in the other psalm where Jehovah's sway is extended over Hades! "I nestle in the netherworld?—and thou art there!"[5]

If the Old Testament in its later strata so eloquently testifies to revision of earlier ethical and religious thinking, must not the disciple of Jesus also compare his experience of God with that of the authors of the Old Testament?

4 See Bade, "The Old Testament in the Light of To-day," pp. 87 ff., and further II Kings 18 : 4; the development of the priesthood traceable in Deuteronomy 18 : 6-8; II Kings 23 : 9; Ezekiel 44 : 6-14; Numbers 3 : 6-10, 18 : 1-7.

5 Psalms 88 : 3-5, 139 : 8.

Is it not also pertinent to inquire what Jesus' attitude toward the religious book of his people was? In two passages, Jesus summarizes the significance of the Old Testament.[6] He broke with the Pharisaic system. He reinterpreted the Sabbath law[7] and made all foods lawful. He advanced to criticism of the Old Testament; "they said of old . . . but I say."[8] His demand was, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." Jesus obviously was not satisfied with the perfection of the Old Testament.[9]

Even the thirty-nine articles of the church of England are compelled to grant that "the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, does not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth."[10]

The Old Testament should be permitted to be what it is: a collection of books written by various men of various centuries, selected by men of later centuries, and recording Israel's religious history. The Old Testament is composed of varied material—chronicles, laws, exhortations, psalms, wisdom literature—but the emphasis is increasingly upon conduct. Priest, prophet, and sage strike the same chord, "Ye shall be holy, for I am holy." God and the will of God are made the quest of man. Within its pages may be traced

6 Matthew 7 : 12, 22 : 37-40.
7 Matthew 12 : 1-12; Luke 13 : 10-17, 14 : 1-6; John 5 : 1-11.
8 Matthew 5 : 21-48; Mark 7 : 15.
9 Was Paul? See Galatians 3, 5 : 1; Colossians 2 : 16 f.
10 Article VII.

the gradual discovery of the ethical and universal God. Historically approached, the Old Testament becomes a chief source book in religion.

The New Testament, consisting of selected reminiscences of the career of Jesus, some early Christian correspondence, notes upon the story of emerging Christianity, and a Utopian analysis of the primitive Christian environment, enshrines the ideals of Jesus and his earliest interpreters.

What then is the Bible? It is a monument to religious experience. As it has been well put, "the Bible is a record of struggle toward God, is the history of the development of religious personality."[11] The outstanding value of the Bible is its rich deposit of religious experience. Jesus himself is his greatest credential. Paul is of greater significance than his views. The *who* counts for more than the *what*.

Religious experience approaches the Bible without any preconceptions. It gladly grants the conclusions of the historical investigation. It recognizes documents and strata—a prophetic stratum, a priestly stratum, a Pauline stratum, a Johannine stratum, a synoptic picture of Jesus, a Johannine portrait of Christ, a mysticism of Paul that differs from the mysticism of John. It is aware that the historical background may not be neglected without penalty. It does not at all fear the relativity of the Bible.

11 Niebergall, whose "Praktische Auslegung des Neuen Testaments in Lietzmann's Handbuch zum Neuen Testament," volume V, pp. 1-48 in part suggested this chapter.

But religious experience also affirms that even the best method of investigation is a tool, not an end. Criticism by no means settles the religious importance of a passage. We do not know Hebrews merely because we have settled that it is a homily and not a letter. We have not grasped the meaning of a parable because we have traced its development and can demonstrate its original form. The comparison of synoptic differences is but the first step in the understanding of the baptism narrative. Religious experience objects to enslavement by any method and refuses to quarrel over every verse and documentary hypothesis as if religion should immediately disintegrate if the decision went the other way. It holds that differences will cause no consternation, if the spirit of the New Testament is absorbed.

Religious experience deeply appreciates and makes use of the experience of the religious leaders of the past. It is interested in every previous interpretation of God as a value judgment. It affirms that Amos or Isaiah or John has a permanent message to struggling religious souls of to-day. It urges the appropriation of previous religious experience. To do this one must be in sympathy with the ideals of the Bible. To appreciate the classics, one must not only have an idea of what is classic but must also live in the classic environment. One must have the feeling of and for Sophocles to comprehend Sophocles. No one should think of being a scientist without possess-

ing an interest in nature. He who has no love for bugs, who avoids the ugly crawlers, who will not fondle them and admire their coloration, who refuses to live in the bug world, will never publish a very interesting monograph on bugs. Precisely so, the shaping religious men of the Bible will never chum with us or walk by our side unless we breathe the atmosphere of the Bible and make their experience ours by repeating it. If we are not convinced that man is religious, if we refuse to exalt the spiritual, if the spirit of Jesus does not compel us, we shall not behold God in the Bible, however much we may affirm it. There are no objective markings to prove either the authenticity or the integrity of the Bible. But one cannot long contemplate the splendid devotion of the average adherent of Jesus in the most primitive period of Christianity, cannot live in the companionship of Paul for any great length of time, cannot reflect upon their hope of a glorious future where God dwells, even if his foot-prints are not to be discerned in the chaos of the present, without realizing the influence of the life here lived.

Religious experience insists that when the Bible is studied from the angle of religious value, it is without any qualification the classic of religion. If the Christian ministry would recognize as its supreme task the study of the Bible in such a way as to ascertain its worth for the religious and ethical life of to-day, we should have less of the puny conflict between men who are theoretical,

who are eternally interested in "to be," in discussion and in metaphysics and men who are practical, who are interested in "to have," in experience, in psychology. And we should retain the Bible for the modern man.

It was the religious experience of William Robertson Smith that testified, "Of this I am sure at the outset, that the Bible does speak to the heart of man in words that can come only from God, that no historical research can deprive me of this conviction or make less precious the divine utterances that speak straight to the heart. For the language of these words is so clear that no readjustment of their historical setting can conceivably change the substance of them."

It is testimony of a similar sort which is met with in the Racovian Catechism, "Although some difficulties do certainly occur in them;[12] nevertheless, those things which are necessary to salvation, as well as many others, are so plainly declared in different passages, that every one may understand them; especially if he be earnestly seeking after truth and piety, and implores divine assistance."

"Neither vision nor ecstasy, neither voice from heaven nor bodeful dream, has pointed the way of salvation to me; I owe my enlightenment quite simply to the reading of a book. Of a book, you say? Yes, and it is an old and homely book, plain and natural as nature herself; a work-a-day and

12 That is, the books of the Bible.

unpretentious-looking book. And this book is sometimes called quite simply, *The Book,* the Bible. Rightly it is also called Holy Writ. He who has lost his God may find him again in this volume, and he who has never known Him will there be met by the breath of the divine Word," that was the final verdict of Heine.

What the famishing religious world of to-day needs is contact with God. It is silently pleading with the minister to lead it back to God. Unless the 'yod' and the 'horn' are neglected and the religious value of the Bible is seized, there will come failure. Only the religion of the spirit can solve the religious problems of the new time. Man, religious in his construction, must respond to the religious experience deposited in the Bible. And when the perplexed man of to-day asks for bread, for food that will sustain him in his struggle against fear, suspicion, doubt, selfishness, that will enrich him with God, he should be directed to this excellent record of religious experience which we call the Bible.

It would be the supreme tragedy of modern Christianity to regard even the New Testament as the last word upon religious experience. For the spirit of the New Testament is the spirit of never-ceasing adventure. To be true to that spirit, Christianity must build still "more stately mansions." Jesus was not a programmist or legalist. He announced a religion of the spirit and not a religion of authority. He insisted that

willing must be genuine, must originate within man, that any final ethical decision must have the approval of the heart. For Jesus the will of God and what had been transmitted as the will of God were not at all synonymous. To find God we must recognize the good. "You know how to decipher the look of earth and sky; how is it you cannot decipher the meaning of this era? *And why do you not yourselves settle what is right?*" Jesus knew that ethical and spiritual death sets in when men pat themselves on the back in glorious self-approval, when the taking of one ethical height does not disclose higher tops still to be scaled. Jesus pointed out that man is an independent being, that he may have communion with God, and that he must, to be contented, have the approval of God. Wherein would Jesus have differed from the Pharisees he opposed, if he had enacted a new series of statutes? Jesus' legacy was freedom and free disciples. Jesus bequeathed an attitude, a disposition, a spirit which is restless and disturbed and dissatisfied until it redeems all life to conformity with his ideal. Personality and freedom meant so much to Jesus that he gave himself without stint to discovering diamonds in the rough, to transmitting himself to his companions, and to believing implicitly that his spirit once present in humanity would prove unconquerable.

Therefore, only as the New Testament becomes a point of departure for new adventures of faith will it best serve the religious needs of the twentieth century.

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